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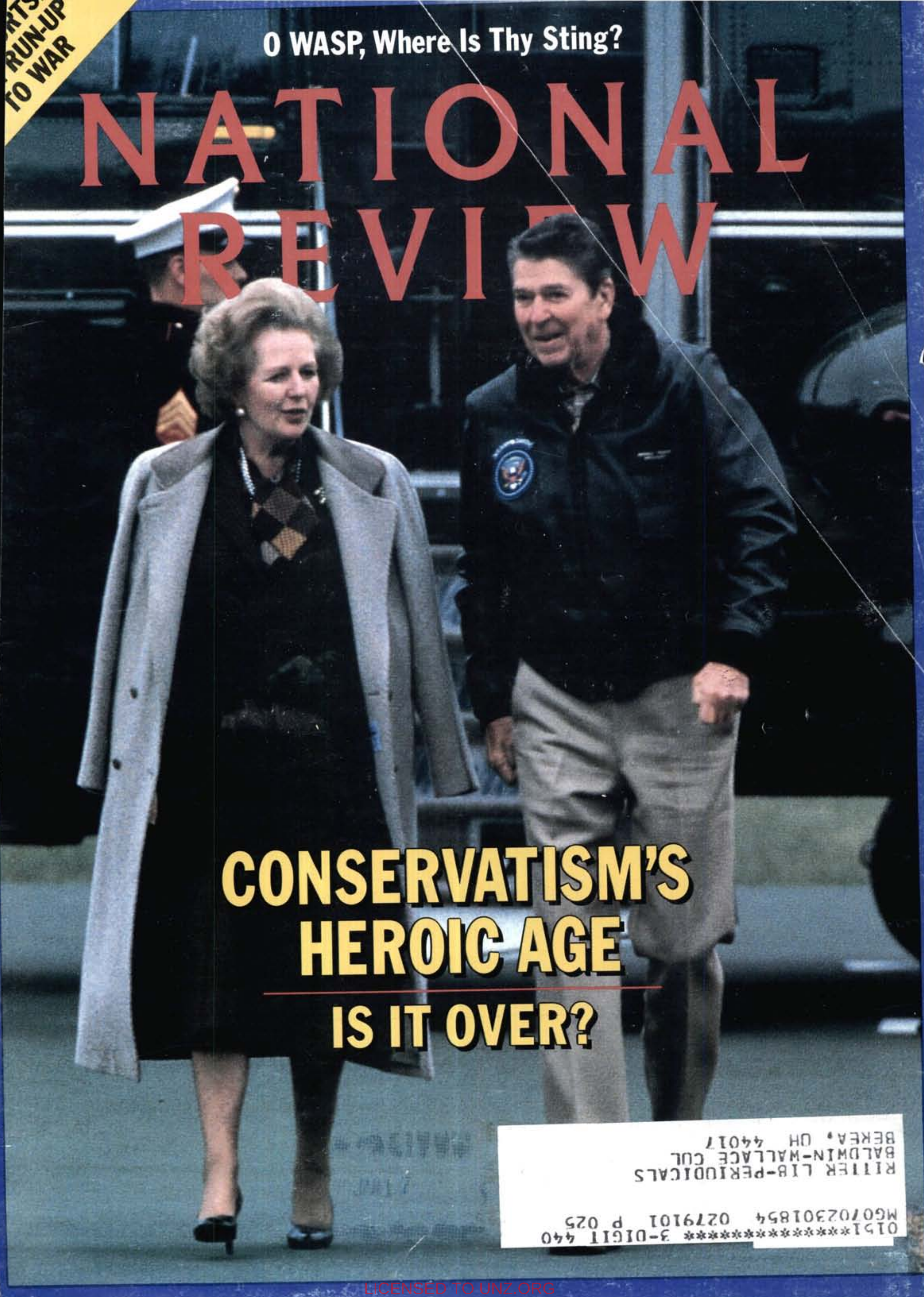
TO WAR

O WASP, Where Is Thy Sting?

NATIONAL REVIEW



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IS IT OVER?

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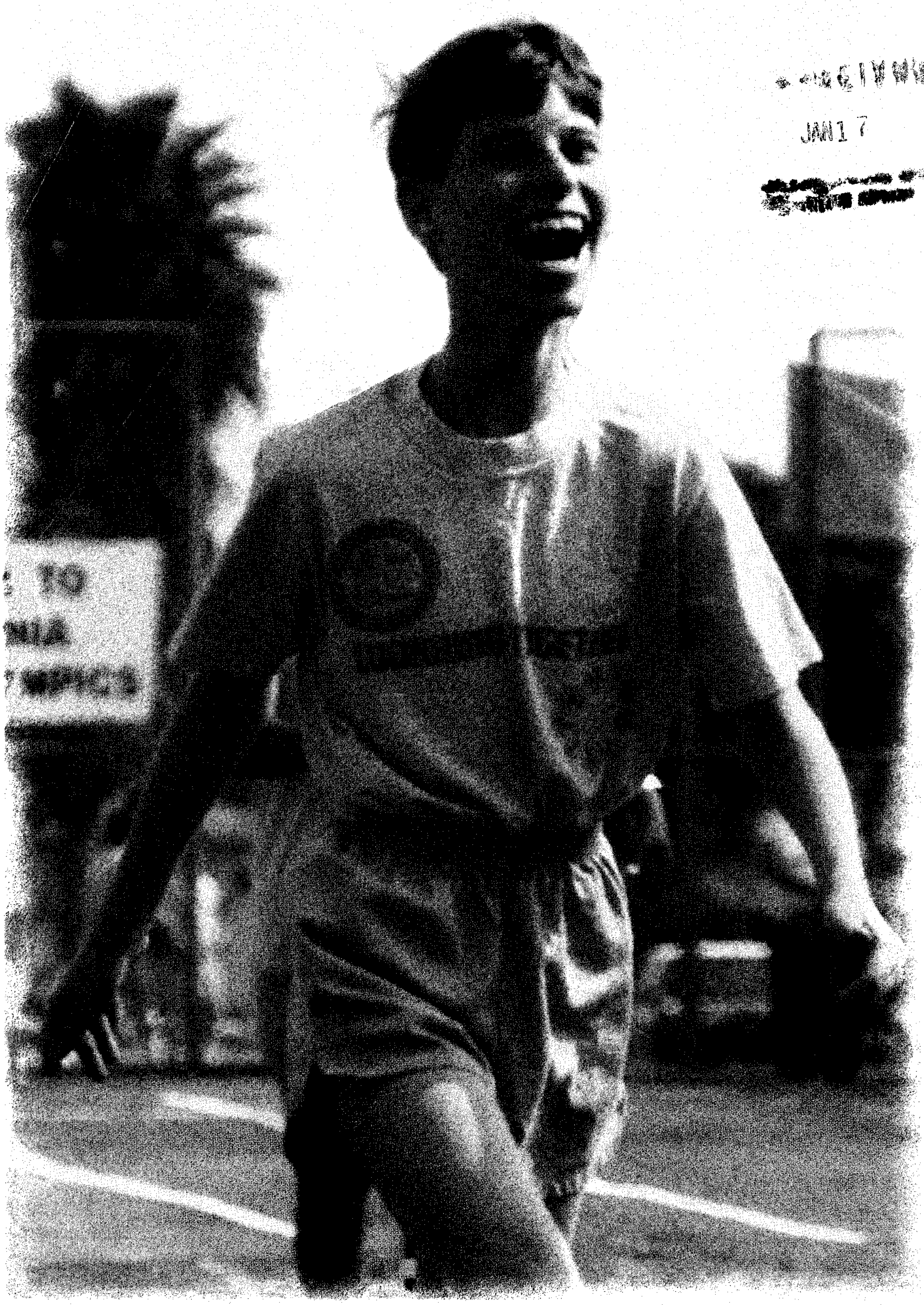

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California Special Olympics volunteer

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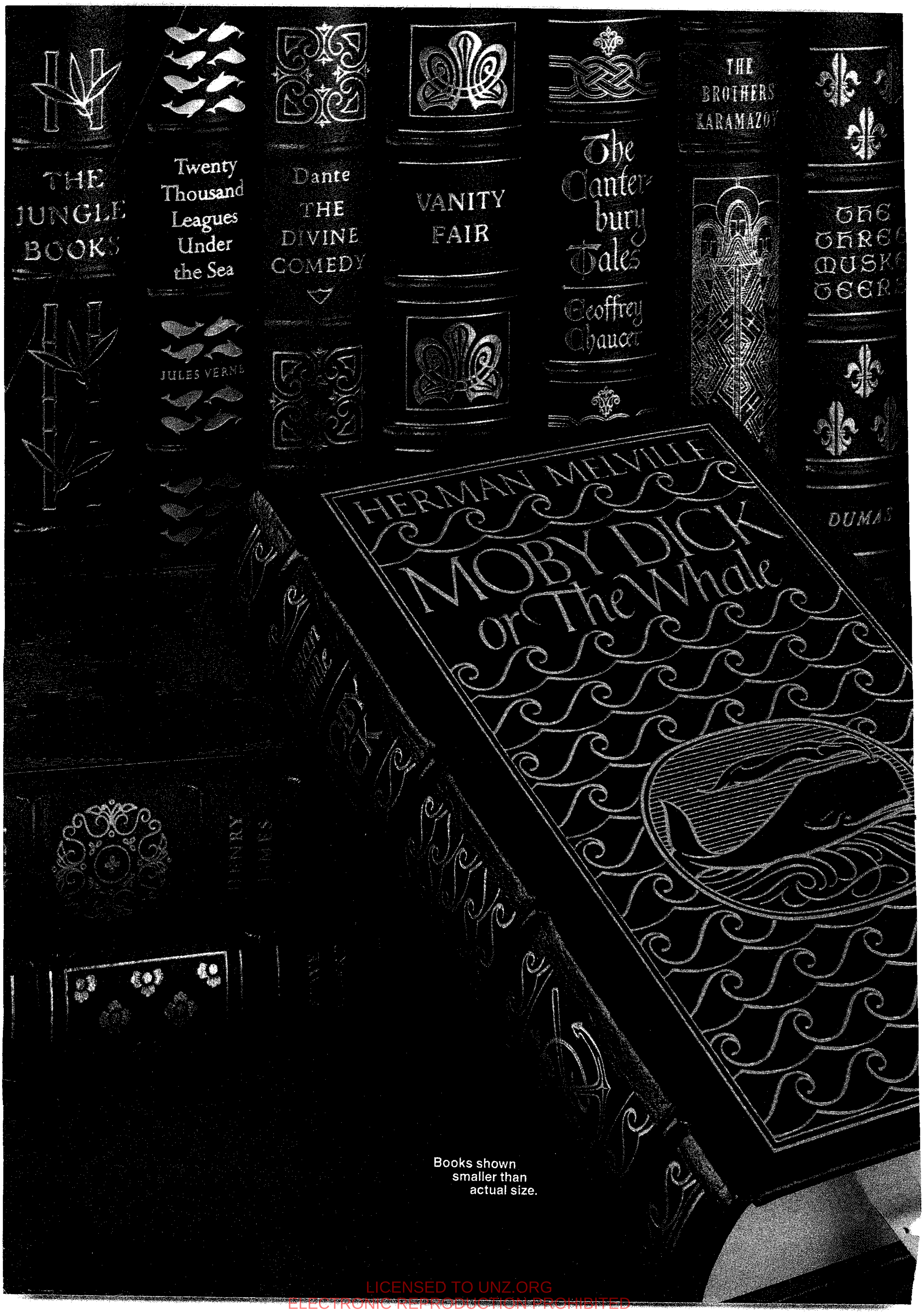
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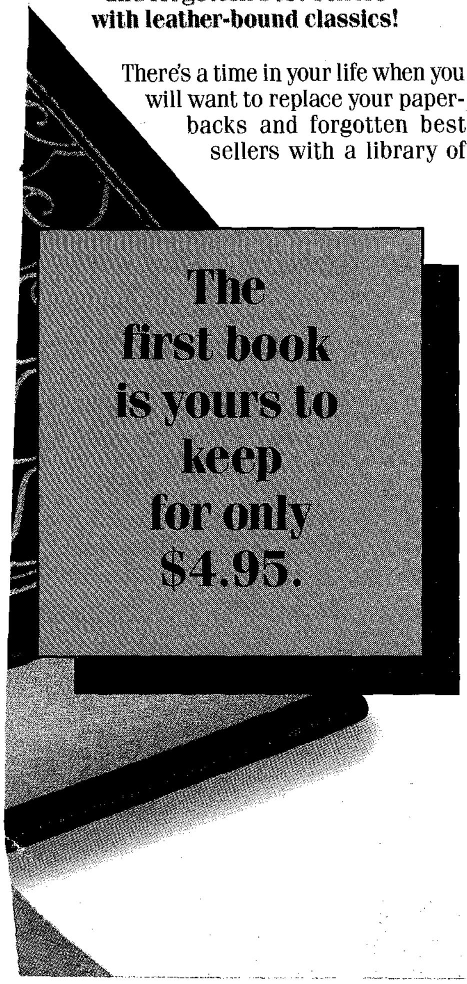

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NATIONAL REVIEW

JANUARY 28, 1991 VOL. XLIII, NO. 1

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Cover photo by J. L. Atlan/Sygma

The Audit Bureau

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January and the second issue in July, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 1991. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P.O. Box 96639, Washington, D.C. 20077-7471; phone, 800-222-6806, Monday–Friday, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct all display and classified advertising questions to The Leadership Network at 212-684-5500.

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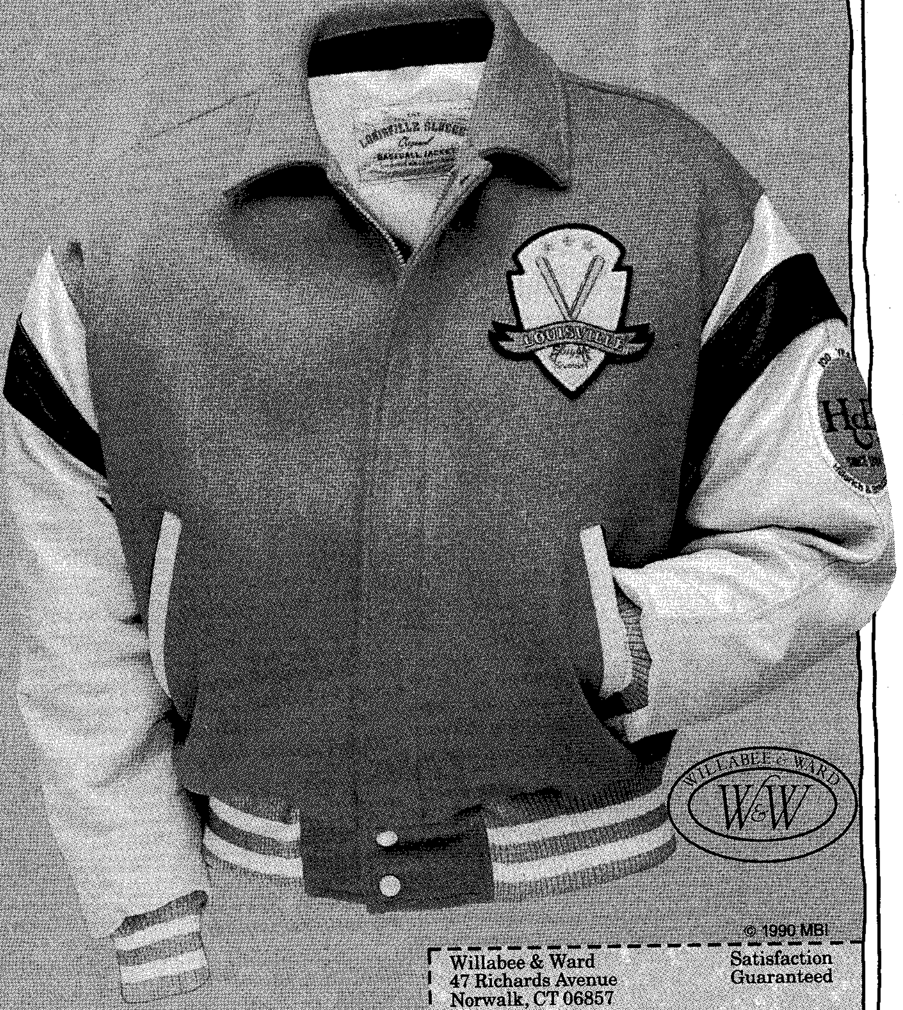

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LETTERS

God before State

In his "Vindication of Edmund Burke" [Dec. 17], Conor Cruise O'Brien continues to demonstrate his remarkable ability to discover new insights into Burke. In his introduction to the Penguin edition of Burke's *Reflections* (1968), O'Brien pointed out that Burke is our first conscious propagandist, for his rhetoric is a self-conscious, imaginative exercise for mobilizing public opinion against France. Now O'Brien calls our attention to the way Burke's sensitivity to the oppression of Catholics contributed to his alarm at the English promoters of the French Revolution, motivated as they were in part by anti-Catholicism.

The roots of Burke's pro-Catholic sympathies, however, do not lie in his acceptance of the Lockean Enlightenment and its "tolerant version of Christianity," as O'Brien implies. He sympathized with Catholics because of his mother's family, to be sure, but more importantly, Burke believed that Christianity was *true* and that sectarian differences were of relatively minor importance. Burke believed that religion was the foundation of society. He who fears God fears nothing else, wrote Burke in 1791, and hence the revolutionaries needed to root out the citizen's awe of God in order to nourish his awe of the state. It is our pride to know that man is a religious animal, and hence the revolutionaries' project of weakening man's obligation to God could result only in weakening everyone's social obligations to everyone else.

All this is to say that Burke's critique of the French Revolution, while attentive to French circumstances and intolerance, as O'Brien argues, originates in his view of human nature. Enlightenment thinkers sought a secular foundation for the state. Burkean foundations are religious. Enlightenment thinkers began with a radically individualistic view of man "in the state of nature" and used abstract reason to erect a theory of social contract. Burke drew on a longer tradition of natural law, Christian and classical, which teaches that man is by nature social. He believed man requires the actual, artificial conventions of society to realize his natural, God-given end.

All of us rejoice in the fall of Communism, a logical outgrowth of the revolutionary mind that Burke criticized. It remains to be seen if Western intellectuals can acknowledge the unworkability of the Enlightenment hopes of a radically secular, individualistic society.

Daniel E. Ritchie
St. Paul, Minn.

Demand Considered

Walter Berns ["Saving the NEA," Nov. 19] says the NEA should have heeded Tocqueville on democracy and the arts. They should have listened to another Frenchman as well. In *The Ethics of Redistribution* (1952), recently reprinted by Liberty Press, Bertrand de Jouvenel says of redistribution and the arts:

"[T]he most eager champions of income redistribution are highly sensitive to the cultural losses involved. And they press upon us a strong restorative. It is true that individuals will not be able to build up private libraries; but there will be bigger and better and ever more numerous public libraries. It is true that the producer of the book will not be sustained by individual buyers; but the author will be given a public grant, and so forth. All advocates of extreme redistribution couple it with most generous measures of state support for the whole superstructure of cultural activities. . . .

"But does this make sense? In the whole process of reasoning which sought to justify redistribution rationally, it was assumed that the individual's satisfaction was to be maximized and that the maximization of the sum of individual satisfactions was to be sought. It was granted for argument's sake that the sum of individual satisfactions may be maximized when incomes are equalized. But in this condition of income equality, if it be the best, must not market values set by the buyers and the resulting allocation of resources be, *ex hypothesi*, the best and most desirable? Is it not in direct contradiction with this whole line of reasoning to resume production of items that are not now in demand?"

Jeffrey O. White
Malibu, Calif.

Story of the Tape

Not so fast there regarding CNN and the Noriega tapes ["The Week," Dec. 17]. Recall that it was the U.S. Government that did the taping that violated the defendant's Sixth Amendment rights, and it was the U.S. Government that sought to do damage to ours (First Amendment). We broadcast material that the defendant's attorney had waived, thus, in CNN's view, violating no court order since no confidentiality existed because of the waiver. And, no, we did not pay anyone for the material, which will continue to unfold on CNN in the weeks ahead. Yes, we will continue to report on what you characterize as the plight of the Panamanian people.

Ed Turner
Executive Vice President, CNN
Atlanta, Ga.

Mysterious Forces

It's too bad John Farrell didn't read Beckmann's *Einstein Plus Two* before attempting to rebut ["Letters," Dec. 17] Tom Bethell's discussion of it. Along with other disrupting blows at his cherished dogmas, Mr. Farrell would have found the deep ambiguity of the atomic-clock experiments discussed at length. Mr. Beckmann does not shy away from scrutinizing evidence that seems to favor Einstein's theory.

Mr. Farrell scorns Beckmann's "field" theory for reintroducing gravity as a mysterious force (though there is nothing mystical about it when you read Beckmann), but then amazingly considers Einstein's case to be simpler and more poetic. He says that "space . . . is nothing more than the potential for motion, bent by . . . mass" and that gravity is "the natural path of motion . . . near mass in space." Now, a potential for motion comes very near to the Aristotelian notion implying a power or motive force. And unless Mr. Farrell believes in Hume's self-contradictory universe of causeless, conjunctive events, he must assume there's a reason why we can speak of a "natural" path of motion. We then may retort: Why this path and not another? Why doesn't mass have the opposite effect on space?

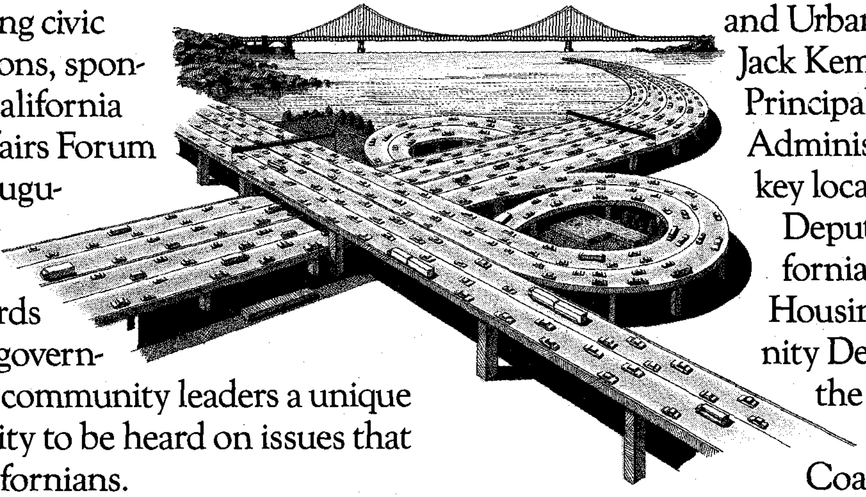
Were there no force, cause, or reason for the relation between space and mass to be what it is and not something else, Einstein's space–time continuum would be only a random jumble of discrete, unpredictable events. Therein lies part of the importance of gravity as a force: at least it's a hypothesis that can be handled. A purely mechanical view of the universe is no explanation at all but merely description.

Ross Nelson
Milwaukee, Wis.

In Search of Cures for California's Growing Pains

California. The very name conjures up gold rushes and endless summers. But the California dream has a dark side. Air pollution. Clogged highways. Housing shortages. The side effects of rampant growth.

It is to encourage discussion of potential solutions for such problems that Hitachi, Ltd., along with leading civic organizations, sponsors the California Public Affairs Forum series. Inaugurated in 1987, the series affords business, government and community leaders a unique opportunity to be heard on issues that affect Californians.



At the inaugural Forum in Los Angeles, futurist Alvin Toffler addressed California's transportation crisis. The Forum was repeated in San Francisco a week later.

In 1989 the Forum returned by popular demand in an expanded format. On November 2 the Forum convened in San Francisco to address the growing imbalance between jobs and housing in the San Francisco Bay Area. A week later in Los Angeles the Forum's subject was how to strike a balance between economic growth and air quality. Both events attracted some 200 state and local officials and business leaders even in the aftermath of the region's biggest earthquake in nearly a century.

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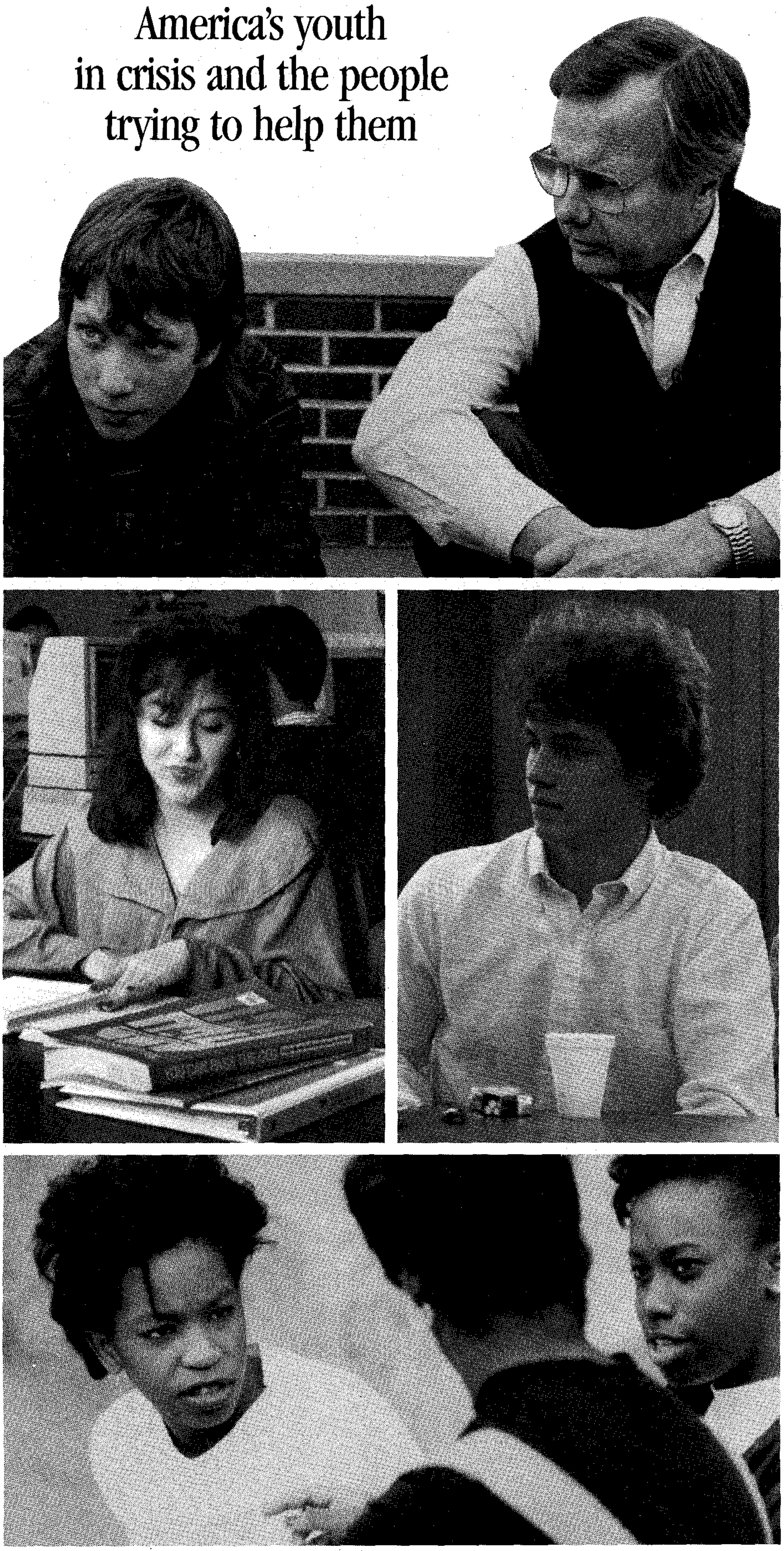

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FROM THE EDITOR

Municipal Notes

■ On November 20, John B. Judis, whom *NR* readers will perhaps know best as the biographer of Bill Buckley, had an op-ed article in the *New York Times* on the prospects for a new world order following the Gulf crisis. Mr. Judis, a fair-minded left-liberal who supports such an order, warned against its opponents, such as “Republican conservatives”:

“They agree that pursuing new collective security arrangements is—as John O'Sullivan, editor of NATIONAL REVIEW, put it—‘bunkum.’ ”

Mr. Judis was quoting from my article on James Burnham, which, being over 11,000 words long, may have escaped the attention of some readers. Since the quotation failed to capture all the nuances of my world view—notably that I strongly support a new world order, albeit one very different from Mr. Judis's—I sent a letter to the *Times* correcting matters. It ran, in part, as follows:

“John B. Judis gives the impression that I regard the concept of a new world order as ‘bunkum.’ Quite the contrary. My argument was that precisely because such an order is desirable, new arrangements for collective security should not be left to utopians like Mr. Judis who will only make a hash of them.” And more in like vein.

That letter arrived at the *Times* on November 21. Subsequent inquiries established that it was “on the list” for possible publication. Six weeks later, however, it seems unlikely to see the light of day.

This was not the first such case. In October 1989, the *Times* published an advertisement, paid for by the Angolan government, selectively quoting from Radek Sikorski's *NR* article on Jonas Savimbi (August 18, 1989) to make it appear that he had condemned UNITA and sided with the Communist MPLA. Anthony Lewis, in his *Times* column, requoted some of these passages to the same effect.

Bill Buckley promptly fired off a letter quoting Radek's praise for UNITA, his harsh condemnation of the MPLA, and his conclusion that, by comparison with the MPLA, UNITA was “by far the lesser evil for Angola.” It was never published.

What of it? I was once responsible for the correspondence column of a newspaper and know that most letters remain unpublished because there simply isn't room to publish them. But there is a class of letters which is generally given priority by a paper of record: namely, those which correct an error or misimpression that originated in the newspaper.

Otherwise, the original mistake is perpetuated indefinitely through Nexis, the files, other articles, PhD theses, etc. So expect a scholarly study in 2010 or thereabouts to describe a transfer of *NR*'s editorship from the radical Third Worlder Buckley to the Midwest isolationist O'Sullivan. I only hope they spell my name wrong.

■ New York is again facing a fiscal crisis. Even though New Yorkers are the highest-taxed Americans, paying 60 per cent more than Chicagoans and 120 per cent more than Angelenos, and even though they have just been hit with $3 billion in new and proposed tax hikes, next year's city budget is expected to show a shortfall of almost $2 billion.

And that was before Mayor Dinkins gave a 5 per cent salary increase to almost half the city's workers, justifying its fiscal soundness because it would come not from the budget but from raiding the pension fund.

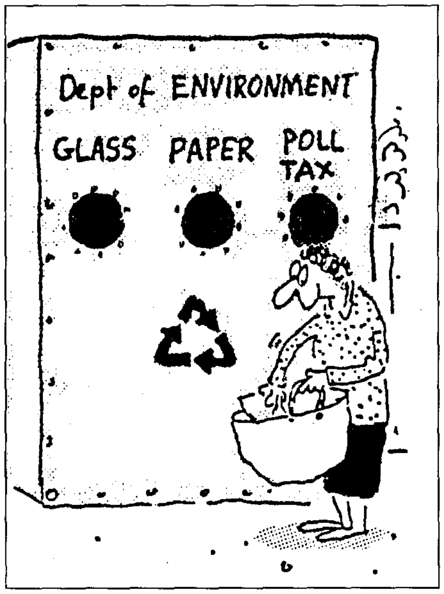
New York's motto continues to be: Tax and tax, spend and spend, decay and decay.

■ Owing to lack of space, we have had to hold over our report on the Christmas clerihew competition to the next issue. Any allegations you may have heard about corruption are wholly unfounded and the editors will not hesitate to take legal action if they are repeated. —JOHN O'SULLIVAN

ON THE RECORD

■ 1990 wasn't all bad. Last year, for the first time in the fifty years **Freedom House** has been tracking such things, more of the world's 5.3 billion people were free (39 per cent) than not free (33 per cent). Another 28 per cent, including for the first time the USSR, are listed as "partly free." Five nations that made the switch in '90: **Chile, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Namibia**. . . . Rep. **Helen Bentley** (R., Md.), impressed by successes of RFE/RL in Central Europe and Soviet Union, is introducing bill in Congress for formation of a Radio Free Asia, to broadcast to captive nations of Indochina. . . . In a moving ceremony in Warsaw just before Christmas, **Ryszard Kaczorowski**, president of Polish government-in-exile, presented **Lech Walesa** with the red presidential banner, the seals of state, and the original text of the Polish Constitution of 1935, which a predecessor had smuggled out of Poland after the Nazi invasion in 1939. "We never thought we would be the ones to see such a historic moment," said Kaczorowski's wife, **Karolina**. . . . The once-Stalinist former **French Congo** abandoned its Marxist ideology in December and has now legalized opposition political parties. . . . Back in the States, Sen. **Jesse Helms** (R., N.C.), is moving to link most-favored-nation status for the Soviet Union to hands-off policy by Moscow on Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia. . . . In Moscow, TASS reports that **Mikhail Gorbachev**, apparently bowing to pressure from the military, is increasing Soviet defense budget by $50 billion instead of cutting military spending in 1991 as he had announced six months ago. . . . And **Boris Yeltsin** insists, as he put it at a December news conference, that "Gorbachev was a Communist, is a Communist, and will always be a Communist." . . . Without question a spark went out of international politics in 1990 with the departure of **Margaret Thatcher** from the world stage. No one else could have said, when outvoted 48 to 1 at a Commonwealth conference, "I feel sorry for the 48." Or have quelled UPI's persistent White House correspondent **Helen Thomas** with the comment: "No time for silly questions like that now, dear."

■ First impressions: Conservatives were pleased (and surprised) by Republican Gov. **William Weld**'s inaugural address. Weld talked turkey about balancing budget, cutting expenses, and unleashing business in Massachusetts, and steered clear of social issues. . . . Newly elected Sen. **Paul Wellstone** (D., Minn.) making waves in Washington, first for his unprovoked attacks on Jesse Helms, next for his refusal to have Minnesota's senior senator, **David Durenberger** (R.), escort him at swearing-in ceremonies, as is customary. Wellstone asked **Walter Mondale** to do the honors. . . . Massachusetts loss of one House seat in '92 means Bay State could lose **Joseph Kennedy Jr.** or possibly **Joe Moakley**, a key player in cutting aid to El Salvador. Another possibility: the merging of **Chet Atkins, Barney Frank** districts. A departure of either would be good news. . . . **Ned Helms**, head of New Hampshire Democratic Party, is having difficulty getting big-name Democrat for party's main fundraiser in February, indicating continued reluctance of any Democrats to take on **George Bush**. . . . *Wall Street Journal*'s **Jim Perry** says Gov. **Douglas Wilder** of Virginia could run for President next year as a "budget-slasher." . . . According to *Human Events* **George McGovern** is talking about a 1992 run. . . . **Millard Fillmore** Society (named for the nation's most mediocre President) has awarded its 1990 Mediocrity Award to **Roseanne Barr** for her rendition of "The Star-Spangled Banner."



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■ The 18th Annual Conservative Political Action Conference is scheduled for February 7–9, at Omni Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C. Speakers: **Jeane Kirkpatrick, Bill Bennett, Jack Kemp, Polly Williams, Robert Novak**. . . . Attention, scholars: The Hoover Presidential Library is awarding fellowships of up to $10,000 for graduate and post-doctoral research using the facilities of the **Herbert Hoover** Presidential Library. For information and application materials contact: Chairman, Fellowship & Grants Committee, P.O. Box 69, West Branch, Iowa 52358. Application deadline: March 1. . . . Attention, young journalists: Applications for next 12-week session of National Journalism Center in D.C. are due by Feb. 1. Contact **M. Stanton Evans, Chris Warden**, or **Mal Kline** at 800 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002. . . . Attention, West Coast conservatives: The **George Washington** Society (former *NR* publisher **William A. Rusher**, vice president) holds a monthly dinner featuring well-known conservative speakers in the Pasadena area. For info, contact **Sergio Picchio**, 213-698-9675. . . . Conservatives saddened by death of retired *Chicago Tribune* Washington correspondent **Willard Edwards**, often called "dean of the Washington press corps," father of **Lee Edwards**. . . . In London it's Sir Peregrine. Columnist and editor **Peregrine Worsthorne** of the *Sunday Telegraph* was knighted in the Queen's New Year's Honors List.

■ Right on! At **Clark University** in Massachusetts, students protesting "political correctness" are circulating a new bumper sticker: BIG SIBLING IS WATCHING YOU.

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THE WEEK

■ As we go to press, Congress is on the verge of discovering its constitutional prerogative. It only took it five months. Maybe the Supreme Court should update the *Miranda* ruling by requiring that every congressman, at his swearing in, be apprised of his rights.

■ The decision to put Agriculture Secretary Clayton Yeutter in Lee Atwater's vacant seat at the Republican National Committee is winning kudos all around. Yeutter is not a professional Machiavellian, like Atwater, nor yet a bare-knuckle philosopher, like William Bennett. But he has been in politics and government since the Nixon years. He is a conservative without being also a prickly pear, and he has few enemies—an important point, given the ill feeling that has festered ever since President Bush broke the tax pledge. Finally, as someone who has worked in the Agriculture Department (under Nixon and Bush) and the U.S. Trade Representative's office (under Ford and Reagan), he has cut his teeth on farmers and protectionists. Republicans and Democrats should be a relief.

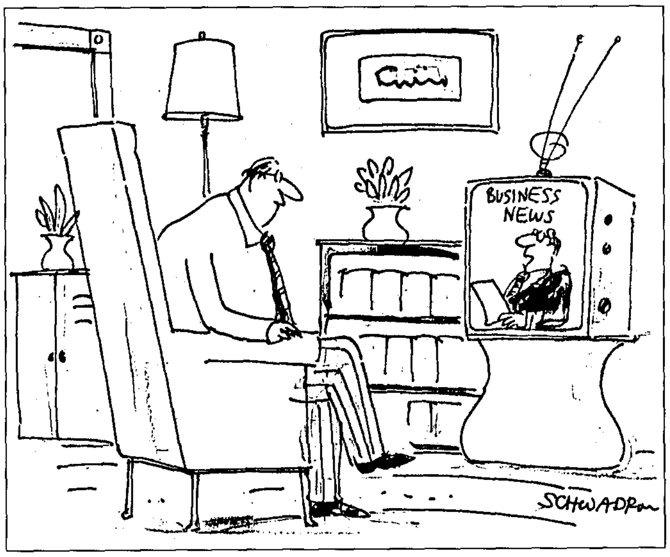
■ California Governor Pete Wilson vowed to put a clone in the Senate seat he vacated. He picked State Senator John Seymour, whom no one east of Tehachapi has ever heard of, and who has no ideological profile to speak of. Mission accomplished.

■ Here's to *60 Minutes* for finally breaking the curious story of the National Acid Precipitation Assessment Project—you remember, the study President Reagan wanted finished before the country took expensive steps to eliminate acid rain. It turns out the ten-year, $500-million study found that acid rain has virtually no adverse environmental effects. The study came out last June, as the Administration was pushing through the Clean Air Act, at a cost of $40 billion and thousands of jobs, but the White House apparently decided that *that* campaign promise was a sacred trust, and so it sat on the NAPAP study lest the truth sabotage the legislation. The media, except for Warren Brookes and the editorial page of the *Wall Street Journal*, dropped the story—until Steve Kroft, the newest member of the *60 Minutes* team, ran down some key study participants—scientists who had supported the conventional wisdom on acid rain until they actually studied the matter. He also brought on Warren Brookes to discuss science, economics, and vote-getting, and some greens to explain that the study didn't tell us anything new and our environmental problems remain urgent. Journalism, it seems, is busting out all over.

■ But Connecticut passed more laws requiring residents to separate their trash into: corrugated cardboard, newspapers, office paper, glass, metal food containers, scrap metal, car batteries, and waste oil. Presumably it will take eight recycling trucks along with the garbage truck to pick everything up.

■ With economic recovery at least six months away, we expect that the Bank of New England and Freedom National will soon have company in the FDIC's emergency room; however, the commercial-bank bailout will never approach the $300-billion tab run up by the S&Ls. The policy focus should now shift from putting out fires and overregulating solvent institutions to preventing, or at least minimizing, future financial firestorms. Deposit-insurance reform is the key, and proposals range from charging riskier banks higher insurance premiums, to phasing out deposit insurance in favor of accounts directly backed by government bonds. But all the proposals are aimed at restoring discipline to a situation where risk-taking had become virtually riskless. Ultimately, however, taxpayers can be spared additional debacles only if banking is profitable. Current banking laws, with their restrictions on interstate banking and on alliances between commercial and investment banks, frustrate this goal.

■ Two U.S. soldiers survived a crash landing of their helicopter, shot down by Marxist rebels in El Salvador early this month, only to be shot in the head by their attackers. The rebels, known as the FMLN, re-



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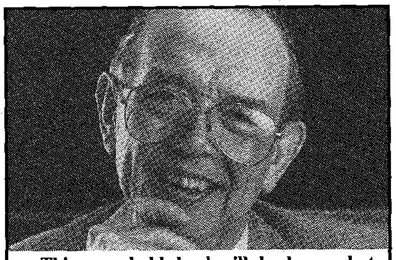

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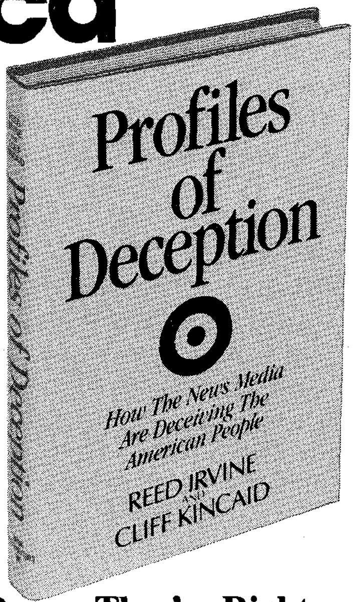
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City ____________ State ______ Zip ______ ceive weapons and money from the Soviets, via the Cubans, via the Sandinistas. American aid provided to help the Salvadoran government fight off the rebels was cut in half by Congress when rogue members of the Salvadoran armed forces apparently executed eight Jesuit priests last year. This cold-war proxy battle continues, and winning the main event is no reason to lose the sideshow. Restore military aid.

■ Breast cancer is set to become the AIDS of the Nineties—not as a disease, but as a cause. The Federal Government spends $1.1 billion a year on AIDS research, almost as much as it spends on all cancer research combined, because its victims are mobilized, and because at least one of the groups from which they are drawn—gay men—is politically powerful. Now women want their piece of the action. "AIDS has created a terrible, wonderful model for us all," as the founder of a group pushing for breast-cancer research put it. The drums of discrimination are already beating: last year, feminists in Congress got the General Accounting Office to cast a gimlet eye over the research studies of the National Institutes of Health, and the GAO obligingly found that women were underrepresented as subjects therein. (Since most diseases kill men and women alike, does it matter what the sex of most NIH subjects is?) One thing is certain: there won't be any push to hike the research on cancer of the prostate, unless it's discovered that it disproportionately afflicts Native American men.

■ A ten-foot, 1,200-pound Elvis head, stuffed with birdseed and said not to be a very good likeness, is missing and presumed eaten by passerine species. Nevertheless, a Los Angeles disc jockey is offering a reward of $500 and a hundred pounds of Kentucky Fried Chicken, extra crispy, for its safe return. Sometimes the fine points of American culture escape us.

■ Still the First Amendment is alive and . . . well, . . . The NEA has now reversed itself and will—repeat: will—bestow grants on two, uh, performance artists. One is Holly Hughes, an avowed (hell, vaunting) lesbian who will get $15,000 for a routine of which she says, "I hope it will be everything that Jesse Helms fears." And $20,000 will go to Karen Finley, of whom the *New York Times* says: "In some of her performances Ms. Finley has covered her partly nude body with chocolate to simulate excrement and symbolize the debasement of women." Query: Why do these artists need our money, when they've already had a million bucks' worth of free publicity? Maybe it's the principle of the thing.

■ From the corrections column of the *Fresno Bee*: "An item in Thursday's [paper] about the Massachusetts budget crisis made reference to new taxes that will help put Massachusetts 'back in the African-American.' The item should have said 'back in the black.' "

■ Attention, librarians and others who may have feared an issue of *NR* was waylaid in the holiday mail: We skipped two weeks this Christmas, so that this issue is our only issue for January 1991.

■ Massachusetts's prospects for getting in the African-American, incidentally, improved markedly this month with the departure of Michael Dukakis, whose election in 1974 was an African-American day indeed in the history of that troubled state.

■ Something called the Foundation on Economic Trends is suing the Agriculture, Interior, and Energy Departments for failing to measure the gaseous emissions of cattle, sheep, buffalo, and other sources of flatulence, Congress possibly excepted.

Cry Havoc

IN THE five-month-long lull, now drawing to a close, that followed Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, George Bush has hardly made a serious misstep. He has put in place the firepower to defend the Arabian oilfields and roll back Saddam Hussein. He has lined up all the serious world powers, and some of the unserious ones (including the UN), in a coalition widely derided for its heterogeneity, which has in fact held together for almost half a year. He has placed Iraq under an embargo which, if it has not brought the country to a halt, has reduced its capacity to wage war.

There have been errors: a welcome of Syrian help that went beyond *Realpolitik* to tacit approval of a regime as brutal as Iraq's; the buzz of awkward rhetoric that accompanies most actions Mr. Bush takes. But the President's performance as a whole has been strong and solid—a solidity due mainly to his own steadiness of purpose, since on this issue he has been, as Evan Thomas, co-author of *The Wise Men*, put it in *Newsweek*, the "one true hawk in the Administration."

But two obstacles exist which might yet prevent the Administration from seeing its purpose through. One is the prospect of open-ended negotiations. Bush's offer to send James Baker to meet Tariq Aziz in Geneva was perhaps politically necessary to prove that all avenues had been explored. But talks in the style of the Paris peace talks—endless, ambiguous,

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with no incentive for resolution—would amount to a defeat for American interests, and for any hope of regional or world stability. The European Community, led by the French, has been unhelpful in this respect—trying to call the tune, even though it's not paying the piper. Iraq's rejection of the Community's overtures is therefore a welcome respite from the threat of appeasement described as negotiations.

An even greater puzzle is the behavior of Bush's own countrymen in Congress. Bush has not asked Congress for a declaration of war. He should have done so several months ago. But there is still time, and when the moment comes, he is likely to get it, avoiding some of the constitutional difficulties we discuss below. But if congressional liberals want a debate, they should be ready to be candid. So far, they have been aggressively coy. The truth is that the Democrats—with a few honorable exceptions, such as Les Aspin and Steve Solarz—want to be able to abuse Bush if he fails, but to say they were with him all the way if he wins. So they have spent the last half-year doing nothing but kibitzing. Their inactivity undercuts any moral authority they might claim to raise last-minute objections.

Saddam Hussein is more lethal than talk-at-any-price diplomats or showboating lawmakers, but he is at least easier to understand. He will wriggle, procrastinate, float compromise proposals through intermediaries, and employ every trick of diplomacy to ensure that he emerges from the crisis with something that can be credibly presented to the Arab world as a reward for his aggression, while his war-making capability not merely remains intact but continues to grow. Such a peace now would mean an unimaginably worse war later. President Bush must therefore remain intransigent both upon the deadline for Iraq's withdrawal, and upon the terms of any settlement. Whether as the result of war or of diplomacy backed by the threat of war, Iraq must withdraw fully from Kuwait, make reparations for the brutalities its army has committed, and submit to an internationally supervised reduction of its war-making capability. If war is indeed required to achieve these aims, President Bush should not shirk from waging it. On his record so far, he does not lack the steel for the task.

Declare Yourselves

IN SEEKING to resolve large constitutional controversies, it is often prudent to start with the language of the Constitution. In order to provide for the common defense, the Constitution distributes the war powers of the national government between the President and Congress. Article I empowers Congress to "declare war," while Article II empowers the President to serve as "Commander-in-Chief." Not to be overly Borkian about this, it appears that there is a role here to be played by both branches of the government.

What precisely those respective roles are, of course, has been the subject of constitutional tension ever since President Jefferson deployed a squadron of warships to the Mediterranean in 1801 to repel Tripolitan pirates without the consent of Congress. As in the past, these matters will be resolved by the normal interplay of political processes. Because these processes, in the end, are conducive to executive action, there will be periodic and largely ineffectual efforts by disgruntled members of Congress to involve the courts in disputes. It is a nice dilemma, but for our part, we would rather have the military policy of the country conducted by Senator Tom Harkin than by Judge Harold Greene.

We should supplement our look at the constitutional text with a review of its surrounding history. James Madison and Elbridge Gerry were the moving forces at the Convention for amending an earlier draft of the Constitution which described Congress's power to "make war" and substituting instead the power to "declare war." This, they observed, would more clearly leave to the Executive the "power to repel sudden attacks." This change not only clarified that the President might take emergency actions without awaiting a formal vote by Congress but also underscored that the conduct of war itself was to be vested in the President.

Nevertheless, as Alexander Hamilton observed in *The Federalist* #69, the President's war power was inferior to that of the British monarch, or even of the governors of the states in regard to their own militias, because of the role of Congress in the "declaring" of war. Gerry himself, in the course of debate over his and Madison's amendment, stated that he "never expected to hear in a republic a motion to empower the Executive alone to declare war."

Until the outset of the cold war, this rough understanding of the apportionment of constitutional war powers was generally adhered to. On nearly a hundred occasions, the President committed American troops to the use of force abroad without constitutional authorization, almost always in the context of minor skirmishes or to put a stop to interruptions of American commerce. For more substantial military commitments, however, Congress on six occasions was called upon for a formal declaration of war. Nonetheless, responsibility for the waging of war—its tactics and strategies—rested exclusively with the Executive. This constitutional equilibrium was ratified by the Supreme Court in several Civil War–related decisions.

With the cold war sharply expanding the range of United States interests, the President's "power to repel sudden attacks" was transformed in recognition that "An attack on a country far from our shores can impinge directly on the Nation's security," as a 1966 State Department defense of our involvement in Indochina put it. In Korea and Vietnam, prolonged wars were fought by United States soldiers without formal declarations of war. Perhaps not coincidentally, these were the first wars in our history not to be concluded wholly successfully.

Both the Constitution and sound public policy (as well as wise politics) suggest that the President should seek the concurrence of Congress in going to war with Iraq. The President needs a Congress that shares his self-interest in the success of our Gulf policy, not one that is well positioned to take political advantage whatever the outcome.

Justice Robert Jackson wrote in 1952 in an opinion bearing upon President Truman's conduct of the Korean War, "Congressional inertia, indifference, or quiescence may sometimes, at least as a practical matter, enable, if not invite, a measure of independent presidential responsibility." On similar grounds, President Bush could justify unilateral executive action in the face of Congress's refusal after five months to schedule a vote on whether to declare war. If the opportunity presents itself, however, President Bush—and the Constitution—will benefit if Congress is involved in this momentous decision.

Winter Deepens

THE FIRST SHOE dropped on December 20, when Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze made his dramatic resignation speech, warning of a looming Soviet dictatorship under whose banner he could not in conscience serve. The second may have dropped on January 6, when an unnamed high-ranking U.S. official told the *New York Times* that President Bush might be forced to cancel the summit with Mikhail Gorbachev scheduled for early February.

Very little was known about Eduard Shevardnadze in 1985 when he was picked by the brand-new Soviet general secretary to head the Soviet Foreign Ministry, where the stony countenances of his stiff-necked predecessors, from Molotov to Gromyko, had given granite a bad name. Within five years Gorbachev and the genial Shevardnadze—responding, to be sure, to the mounting costs Ronald Reagan was inflicting on the faltering Soviet economy—had moved to dismantle the major sources of cold-war conflict: it was out of Afghanistan, hands off Eastern Europe, progress on arms reduction, down with the Wall, even acquiescence in Germany's reunification, at which Gorbachev had drawn the line just a year earlier. And Shevardnadze's disposition to respond to world crises non-aggressively resulted in the Soviet Union's voting with most of the rest of the world on sanctions and possible armed action against Saddam, until very recently the Soviet Union's major ally and client in the Middle East.

All this progress has been put in doubt by Shevardnadze's resignation, Gorbachev's assumption of new, virtually dictatorial powers, and the threats of a Red Army crackdown on the Baltic states and the restive republics generally. In addition the Soviets are failing to comply with the terms of the arms-reduction treaty signed a year ago, and are dragging their feet in further arms-reduction talks. This foot-dragging is yet more evidence of the renewed power of the Soviet military, the KGB, and the hard-liners in Moscow. Their pressures on Gorbachev are visible, and harmful to the "new thinking." There is undeniably a connection between Soviet foreign policy and whether Mikhail Gorbachev can survive as head of the Soviet Union without resorting to the ruthless suppression of human liberties that characterized the USSR of Lenin and Stalin. If Gorbachev forges a still closer alliance with party hard-liners, giving freer rein to the army and the KGB, U.S. policy will have to go beyond canceling summits and looking more skeptically at Soviet treaty compliance. We cannot turn a blind eye on repression in the Baltics nor continue giving food aid to a regime that is apparently retreating into neo-Stalinism. Gorbachev is no longer our man in Moscow, if he ever was, and Shevardnadze, Yeltsin, and radicals like Moscow Mayor Gavril Popov represent the Soviet Union's democratic future, if there is to be one.

To the Dark Tower Came

NOBODY will miss the recently departed education secretary, Lauro Cavazos, a pleasant man typical of the milieu from which he came (the world of appeasement-prone college presidents), but wholly unequal to the task of channeling a nation's demand for better schools into firm ideas and practical policies. Cavazos never got himself back to fundamentals: American education isn't going to fix itself; it will change, if at all, only when

The Roman Alternative

When somebody bad had to go,
Like Caesar, a toga tableau
    That Brutus conceived
    Left Portia bereaved
And Shakespeare a plot for a show.

W. H. VON DREELE

its basic ground rules are rewritten, when power is shifted from producers to consumers and accountability becomes its central precept.

Lamar Alexander, the able Tennessean named by Bush to succeed Cavazos, appears to grasp these fundamentals. He has some scars on his flanks inflicted by the Tennessee Education Association during his (ultimately successful) battle to ensure, among other audacious notions, that good teachers are paid more than mediocre ones. The union has never forgiven Alexander for that, which is why National Education Association chieftain Keith Geiger was perhaps the loudest negative voice heard in Washington on the day that Bush introduced his new secretary.

Quieter doubts were murmured by conservatives who haven't seen much evidence that Alexander is passionately committed to vouchers or other forms of parental choice. He embraces the principle, friends claim, but hasn't allied himself with any particular scheme or plan for implementing it—a stance that could be either practical or evasive. We must wait and see. A more immediate concern is whether he negotiated with the White House the right to remove layers of deadwood at the Education Department. Hacks, has-beens, and establishment sleepers now head virtually every major division. That whole gang has done its utmost to reverse William Bennett's accomplishment during his time at the Department. Bennett came close to turning this vast federal bureaucracy from its historic fealty to education suppliers into something approaching consumer advocacy. That remarkable change could not last, of course, without strong, sustained leadership—precisely what was lacking during the Cavazos years.

Meanwhile, the Federal Government provides six cents of every dollar spent on American schools. And 6 per cent of the education secretary's time is about how much he ought to devote to federal programs. For the rest, he should be out and about the countryside, making a big noise, convincing people that this crisis lives in their neighborhoods, lending legitimacy to the radical power shifts that are needed, welcoming the help of the serious reformers within the education profession while labeling the others for what they are.

Alexander is only the fifth person ever to bear the title secretary of education. Nobody can recall the first one. The second was T. H. Bell, known only for the *Nation at Risk* report that was issued on his watch. Then came Bennett and Cavazos. A mixed bag, indeed. Alexander is worth watching closely, though. A virtuoso performance in this role would make him a national figure. More important, it may get the stalled vehicle of education reform moving once again. Who knows, it might even help revive the faltering Presidency of George Bush.

Herbert Hoover Is Watching

In Ec-1 my professor said
The way to stop a downturn dead
Is flushing it with cash so deep
The poor thing smothers in its sleep;
But Mr. Bush prefers to sock
Consumers like a shuttlecock,
With taxes so insane some say
They'll quite make Mr. Hoover's day.

W. H. VON DREELE

Code Words

THE DEMOCRATS are pushing a new version of the civil-rights bill President Bush vetoed in October, and this one will be tougher than the last. It will, for example, permit unlimited punitive damages against any employer who can be proved to have deliberately discriminated on grounds of race or sex. But the bill's worst feature is the same as its predecessor's: it would impose quotas furtively. Its backers deny this, because quotas are disreputable; but as a practical matter, the truth can hardly be denied.

As the bill is written, any statistically "disparate impact" in hiring standards would be presumed discriminatory. The burden of proving it "job-related" would fall on the defendant. This is a long step toward replacing the presumption of innocence with a requirement that the accused establish his innocence. If mere numbers can create a presumption of guilt, the prudent course for an employer is to hire by numbers. In a word, quotas. So the bill would impose hypocrisy by tacitly pressuring employers to adopt what the government says it opposes.

Overt official quotas would at least have the semblance of law. They would eliminate evasiveness, pretense, and uncertainty, as well as quibbles about motives and intentions. The alternative would be to return to the principle of innocent-until-proven-guilty, forcing prosecutors to produce evidence of intent to discriminate. But this is exactly the principle the bill's backers want to do away with.

The Democrats have been encouraged to renew their assault on freedom in the name of rights by the Bush Administration's manifest reluctance to veto the previous bill, and by its nervous reversal of a ban on federal aid to schools that reserve scholarships for racial minorities. Such scholarships, by the way, might not be a bad idea in the context of general freedom of educational choice. In the current situation, however, they exemplify official racial favoritism.

The hypocrisy on quotas has produced a whole lexicon of code words: "affirmative action," "numerical goals," "racial balance," "substantive equality," and so forth. The next generation may be incredulous to learn that "civil rights" itself once stood for something more than racial featherbedding.

When a Lovely Flame Dies

A YEAR or so ago, perhaps fortified by a lunch of smoked salmon, pan-blackened redfish with mesquite-charred *jalapeño coulis*, and *crêpes Suzette flambées*, the City Council of Cambridge, Massachusetts, assembled in its smoke-free chamber and passed an ordinance that banned smoking in libraries, including the hundred-odd libraries of the Harvard–MIT archipelago. The Council also ruled that any other place of public accommodation need only provide an *area* for non-smokers. Result: pipe-smoking Ivy League professors can still commune with Gauloise-puffing French academics on one side of a *tiny* basement coffeehouse with a ceiling low enough to decapitate John Kenneth Galbraith. But should they attempt to light up in the Widener Library's main reading room, a space vast enough to park a blimp in, off to the gulag with them!

The cancer risk from burning things is universal: be it autumn leaves or gasoline, charbroiled burgers or incense, the thermal decomposition of organic compounds makes some nasty substances. Consider the effluvia of all the fireplaces and furnaces around Harvard Yard, and the even greater amount of exhaust from the vehicles that constantly circle it. It is staggering in its magnitude: tons are burned for every ounce of tobacco consumed in the neighborhood. It's hard therefore to understand why the *de minimis* effects of passive smoking can arouse such passion.

Since the passive ingestion of smoke can be reduced drastically by taking a few steps away or upwind, in most circumstances those who are risk-averse can be expected simply to move out of smoke's way.

So perhaps the smoker's best revenge is to impose on his persecutors some hard data that will command in them a certain consistency of quantitative paranoia. Last year *Science* published a complete list of the upper spectrum of toxic health risks, ranging from pesto and root beer, via peanut butter and Szechuan pickles, to the unspeakable horrors of coal-fired electricity. Combined perhaps with the mysteries of the passive Cajun-cooking syndrome (can you *believe* what they do to that redfish!), this catalogue of horrors establishes that *nobody* will be spared.

It would seem incumbent on the City Council's neo-Puritan majority to heed one obvious threat: sooty carbon black, a known occupational hazard of the chimney sweep's trade, is a truly baleful carcinogen, laced with combustion products of the darkest hue. So what's the use of a smoke-free library if the innocent are exposed to millions of volumes reeking of printer's ink, which is full of the stuff? Clearly, books are a non-zero risk. They've simply got to go. Cambridge will have to go the whole hog and ban libraries altogether. —RUSSELL SEITZ

Michael Oakeshott, R I P

MICHAEL OAKESHOTT established modesty as a philosophical principle, indeed as a category of being. At the same time, and not paradoxically, he was a towering figure. Among other things, he was the most important political thinker in the Anglo-Saxon tradition since Burke (and I have not overlooked J. S. Mill).

Michael Oakeshott was the guest of honor at *NR*'s twentieth-anniversary celebration, the proceedings that year taking place in two parts. First was an address by Oakeshott at Hunter College, and later a banquet at the Plaza Hotel. When we received Oakeshott's paper at the *NR* office, it proved to be unexpectedly abstruse and abstract. All previous Oakeshott had been splendidly lucid. With a straight face, James Burnham turned the problem over to me. "In the philosophical journals," he said, "it is customary in the case of difficult papers for the editor to give a brief summary of what has just been said. I wonder if you will do that for us here." Yes, I would, and I even had to ask the first question of Oakeshott.

Leaving the auditorium, I heard a woman say, "This was Buckley's greatest hoax. That wasn't Michael Oakeshott. That was an actor playing a philosopher." And yet difficult as that paper was, it adumbrated one of Oakeshott's major contributions to political clarification. His shift toward abstract generalization moved what had previously been implicit, as in *Rationalism in Politics* (1962), to the level of general theory. This became crystallized in *On Human Conduct* (1975), which proposed a theory of the state which came down to earth in the practice of Margaret Thatcher.

Oakeshott rejected managerial government in favor of civil association. Government was not to be a teleocracy, imposing purposes and plans. Its function was to lay down neutral rules which citizens would observe while pursuing whatever ends or purposes they chose for themselves. The social order would amount to an unending series of adjustments and exchanges, with no plan or goal or system, except the fostering by individuals of existence at the highest possible civilized level. Oakeshott saw politics as a mode of protecting and adjusting customary forms of behavior, which rested upon experience. He loathed a politics which would impose new and unexperienced behavior.

Hovering in the background are the great skeptics (skeptics, that is, about the possibility of certain knowledge): Hume, Montaigne, Pascal, Cervantes. And, of course, Burke, though the degree of Burke's skepticism, perhaps deep, remains a question still open to serious investigation. Oakeshott's skepticism was in practice not an enervating but an animating force. It was first outlined in his *Experience and Its Modes* (1933), a brilliant philosophical curiosity which fused skepticism with the idealist tradition.

In *Rationalism and Politics*, Oakeshott's skepticism pointed toward Burke. What is "knowledge"?

> Technical knowledge can be learned from a book; it can be learned in a correspondence course. Moreover, much of it can be learned by heart, repeated by rote, and applied mechanically. . . . On the other hand, practical knowledge can neither be taught nor learned, but only imparted and acquired. It exists only in practice, and the only way to acquire it is by apprenticeship to a master—not because the master can teach it (he cannot) but because it can be acquired only by continuous contact with one who is perpetually practicing it.

Practical knowledge is thus an "activity." In his *Reflections*, discussing the decision to remove James II in 1688, Burke takes as his hero Lord Somers, the "statesman" who through long practical experience "knew" that King James had to be removed, but preserved as much of tradition in doing so as could be preserved.

When Oakeshott replaced Harold Laski in 1951 as professor of political science at the London School of Economics, it was felt to be a momentous event. Laski had been a foremost spokesman for the old socialism. Oakeshott offered something different.

The term "post-modern" today means many things, but it has a particular application to Oakeshott. His skepticism, his sense of natural limits and the human scale, freed him from the modern experience of *Angst* and alienation, which are really the flip side of a hunger for utopian perfection. Like his hero Montaigne, he had emotions that were overwhelmingly positive. Late at night, as the *NR* festivities were winding down at the Plaza Hotel, I heard Michael Oakeshott whisper to a pretty young woman, "Just call me Mickey."

In his late eighties, Oakeshott became the center of a dining, drinking, and discussion society in Caius College, Cambridge, sitting into the small hours with the young men. His conversation had a curiously innocent, even child-like quality, often very funny. He taught his friends that every question was open in the "great conversation," and his epistemology was ultimately "practical." He embodied the "practical knowledge of civilization."

He died at his home in Acton, Dorset, on December 19, 1990, at age 89. —JH

Whither Shevardnadze?

Like Lee, who put Virginia first,
You'll find him, when the tensions burst,
Back in his native Georgia, where,
As Messrs. Bush and Baker stare
Nonplussed at tape on CNN,
He leads the local minutemen.

W. H. VON DREELE

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

About the secondary CDs which I mentioned last time I wrote: They are CDs which the original purchaser turned in before maturity, paying a penalty. The holder then sells them through investment companies at a discount, so the new buyer gains more than the original stated interest. For example, one I bought for $6,400 had a stated interest rate of 7.75 per cent and was for five years, originally. When I bought it, it was only ten months from the maturity date and I received $7,000, for an interest rate of slightly over 10 per cent per year. I'm intrigued by them because I like to buy everything second-hand!

Sincerely,
Frances Frech
Kansas City, Mo.

Dear Mrs. Frech: But is that *fair*? WFB

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I have come across an interesting travel aid I thought you might want to share with your readers.

Yours faithfully,
Adrianne Rice
Pisa Brothers Inc.
New York, N.Y.

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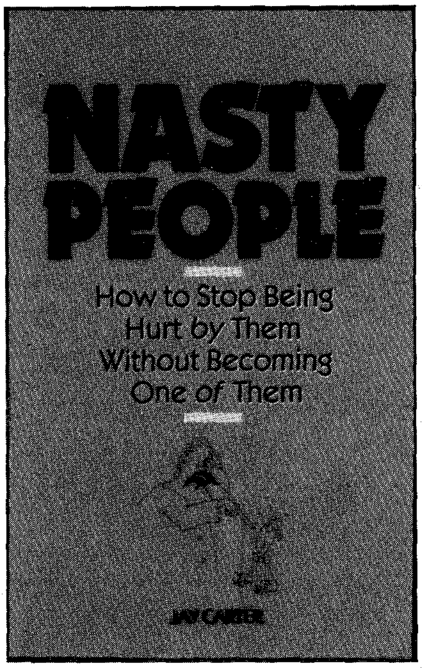
Fekr gabul gardan davat paeh gush divar.
I accept your kind invitation to lie down on the floor with my arms above my head and my legs apart.

Shomaeh fekr tamomeh oeh gofteh bande.
I agree with everything you have said or thought in your life.

Auto arraregh davateman mano sepaheh-hast.



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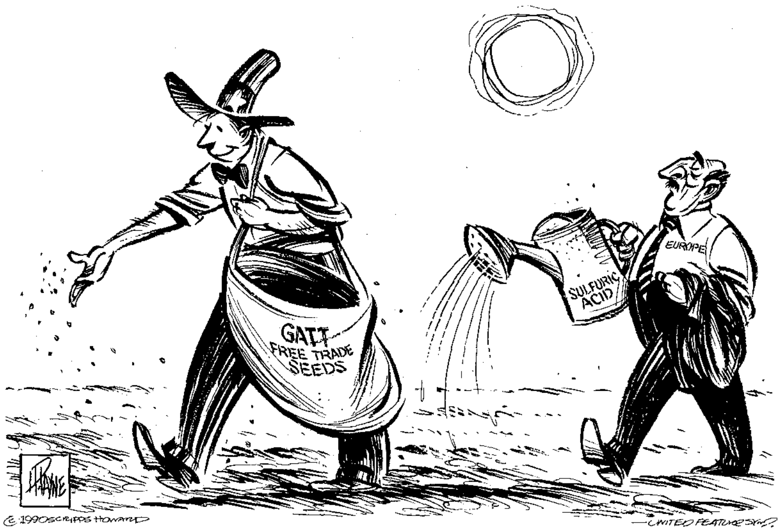

It is exceptionally kind of you to allow me to travel in the trunk of your car.

Fashal-eh tupehman no degat mano goftam cheesha yeh mohemara jebehkeshv arehman.

If you will do me the kindness of not harming my genital appendages I will gladly reciprocate by betraying my country in public.

Khrel, jepaheh maneh va ja yeii amrikahey.

I will tell you the names and addresses of many American spies traveling as reporters.

Balli, balli, balli!

Whatever you say!

Maternier ghermez ahlieh, gorban.

The red blindfold would be lovely, excellency.

Tikeh nuneh ba ob khrelleh bezorg va khrube boyast ino begeram.

The water-soaked bread crumbs are delicious, thank you. I must have the recipe.

■ To the Editor
The New Republic

Dear Sir:

One or two points, if I may, to clarify misunderstandings that might have been generated by Mr. Kaus's review (Dec. 31) of my book *Gratitude*.

He notes that I am hospitable to the use of government sanctions to induce enrollment in national service and wonders how such sanctions could corral the affluent young. "For them Buckley holds out the cute coercion of the loss of a driver's license (why not deny them electricity, while we're at it?) and the prospect of unspecified 'auxiliary sanctions' to be applied by individual states. Buckley says he's not statist; he's just a statesist."

I wrote (p. 138), "In order to achieve such a goal [voluntary national service] it is, above almost any other consideration, important to lean on what one might call the moral sanctions. Here what is needed is a conscious mobilization of social, philanthropic, and civic enthusiasm for the idea of national service." On the business of why not deny them electricity, one has to ask just who, really, is being cute. In Arkansas, the denial of a driver's license has the endorsement of the Democratic governor and of the relevant committee heads of the legislature, a sanction designed for those who drop out of high school. If society should come to deem exposure to civic enterprise as critical a waystation to responsible citizenship as one more year of secondary school and votes an equivalent sanction against that dropout, Mr. Kaus will then worry whether cutting off the electricity is the next draconian step.

On Mr. Kaus's point that if there is work that needs doing, taxes should be levied to do it, my book seeks to make plain that the very idea of civic-mindedness and philanthropy is to get done things that aren't properly the business of the state to subsidize by redistribution. To be sure, a focus on the whole question of what is properly the business of the state illuminates the frontier, even if it is wobbly, that separates the liberal from the conservative, Mr. Kaus from me. Those who have difficulty with the presumption against the nationalization of concern will have difficulty in understanding the concept of voluntary national service.

And finally, a stylistic point. "Within pages . . . he's back to speechwriting. When he says he wants 'a national morale at home reaching as high as the Alps,' you sense that he's given up." If I had written that sentence to describe what I wished for the United States, Mr. Kaus would have been entitled to his wisecrack. But I was talking about Switzerland and its compulsory draft: "It gives that republic relative military invincibility. But something quite other, it can be plausibly argued, developed: a national cohesion. A sense of civic responsibility. A constant reminder of the need to make sacrifices. A national morale at home reaching as high as the Alps." When you adduce the Alps in the context of Switzerland you are not injecting the speechmaker's steroids into a metaphor. "As American as apple pie" is okay, "as French as apple pie" is not okay, and one hopes that those who graduate from national service will grow ears that remark the difference; which reminds me to say in conclusion that I truly don't understand Mr. Kaus's suggestion that to preserve books that will otherwise rot in the Library of Congress is the equivalent of pyramid-building. I never suggested that no one would ever consult such books in the years to come, and my concern for them is not self-serving, given my conviction that my own books will reside in the Smithsonian.

Yours faithfully,
Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

—WFB

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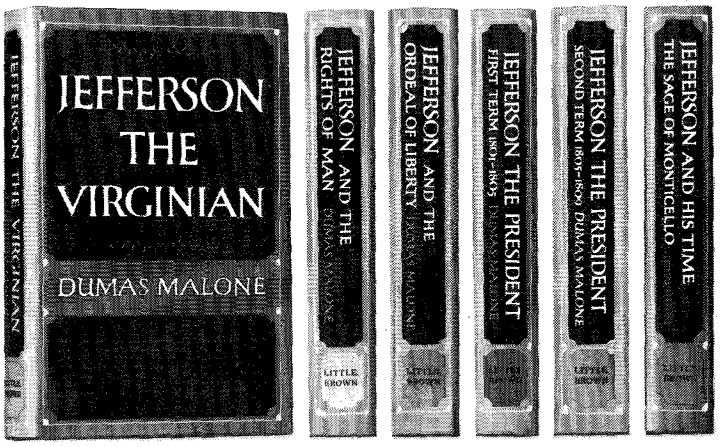
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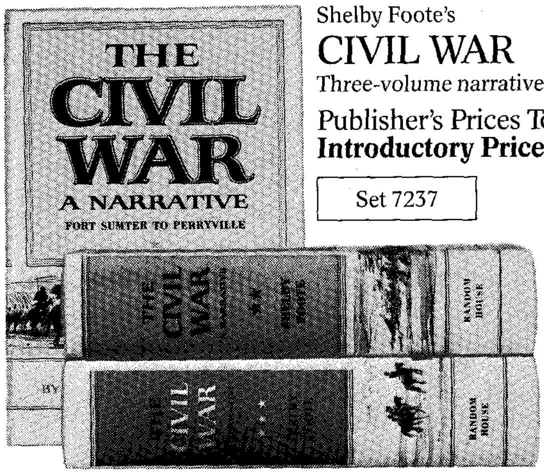
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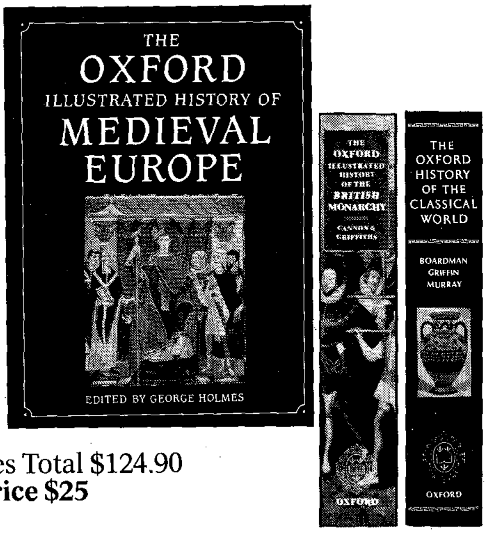
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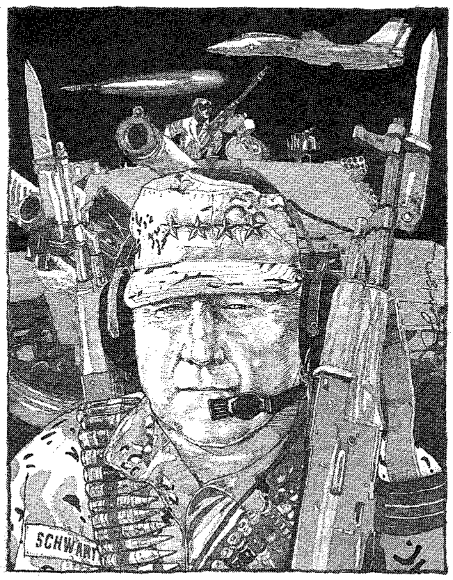
IN THE GULF

The Eve of Waterloo?

ALISTAIR HORNE



Fred Carlson

MUSCAT, OMAN

ALL THE WAY from the airport to the capital, Muscat, some thirty miles distant, the desert was lit up by a string of brilliant fairy lights. Mile after mile of six-foot-high, illuminated butterflies fluttered in the warm breeze.

Oil-rich Oman was *en fête*, celebrating the twentieth jubilee of its autocratic ruler, Sultan Qaboos bin Said Al Said. There is much to celebrate. When Sultan Qaboos took over from his ultra-conservative father, ousted by a coup in July 1970, their country still belonged to the Middle Ages, with nothing more than camel tracks linking its main centers. Today, through a combination of oil revenues and sound government, it is a prosperous and conspicuously clean, modern country —though retaining much of the flavor of ancient Arabia.

One of the world's last benevolent despots, governing without recourse to any elected body, Qaboos himself, though of slight stature, has a commanding presence, with remarkably penetrating eyes. Commissioned at Sandhurst, he served as an officer in the Scottish Cameronians in Germany. He makes no bones about his gratitude to Britain, which has three times (twice under Harold Macmillan) helped save Oman from its enemies, external and internal. Oman remains Britain's staunchest friend in the Middle East, while it has recently become an ally of the U.S.; which are both factors of considerable importance in the current crisis.

Onto the festive scene of the jubilee burst the figure of General "Stormin' Norman" Schwarzkopf, the four-star U.S. commander of Desert Shield. In full desert uniform, larger and even more forceful than one had imagined, General Schwarzkopf exuded reassuring confidence concerning the military prospects ahead—in refreshing contrast to the mounting dovishness back in Washington.

He indicated that war against Iraq would be short and sharp, implying lower casualties than some recent pessimistic forecasts. The general stressed the great success of the U.S. deployment in the Mideast. It was, he claimed, the largest buildup of forces in history, bigger than at the height of the Vietnam War. His original instructions had been to defend Saudi Arabia; but, he said, "we began developing options for the *offense* a little earlier than asked—because I know that if the President asks, 'Can you?' and you say, 'I don't know,' you are not likely to have a long military career."

His Air Force commanders assured him that air superiority would be gained "in five minutes"; he assessed that it might take a little longer—"but not much." They had assembled the most potent aggregation of air power ever seen, while 400 of Saddam's 1,000 planes were obsolete. Only 500 of his much-vaunted 5,500 tanks had "any place on the modern battlefield." He had a mass of second- and third-rate troops, but his first echelon of Republican Guards were "very fine"—however, they were also very few.

Built up by the Russians and French, Iraq's electronic capabilities were good—"but we can cope." The general was fairly dismissive of press "waffling" about chemical weapons. As a tactical threat to the front line, he was more worried about artillery than air-delivery systems; however, strategically, behind the lines, Saddam's missile systems were so inaccurate as to constitute nothing but a "terror weapon." He had only fifty launchers; each took three hours to load, and all were pinpointed—therefore they would be lucky to get off more than one shot. There was little—if any—prospect of Saddam's destroying a Saudi oilfield.

I asked the general whether a more potent enemy than Saddam's weaponry might not be U.S. public opinion. He smiled wryly, without comment—but was acid about U.S. newsmen boasting of their interviews with the dictator: "What would it have looked like in World War II, if somebody had said he had spent two hours with a certain A. Hitler?"

I put to him the following scenario: Following an allied ultimatum, rejected by Saddam, there would be a devastating, all-out air assault; then a pause, in hopes of an Iraqi capitulation—which would be followed, if necessary, by a ground offensive. I cited, however, the numerous historic failures—from World War II to Vietnam—of air power alone to achieve a knockout.

In response, General Schwarzkopf made it quite plain that he would oppose any such pause following an aerial attack; "I'm an infantryman [he commanded a battalion in Vietnam], and I would be delighted if the Air Force would do the job alone," he said. "But, like a boxer, if you knock your opponent down in the first round, you don't wait a week, then offer him another round."

He was especially encouraging about allied technical superiority. Tank gunners, trained in Germany

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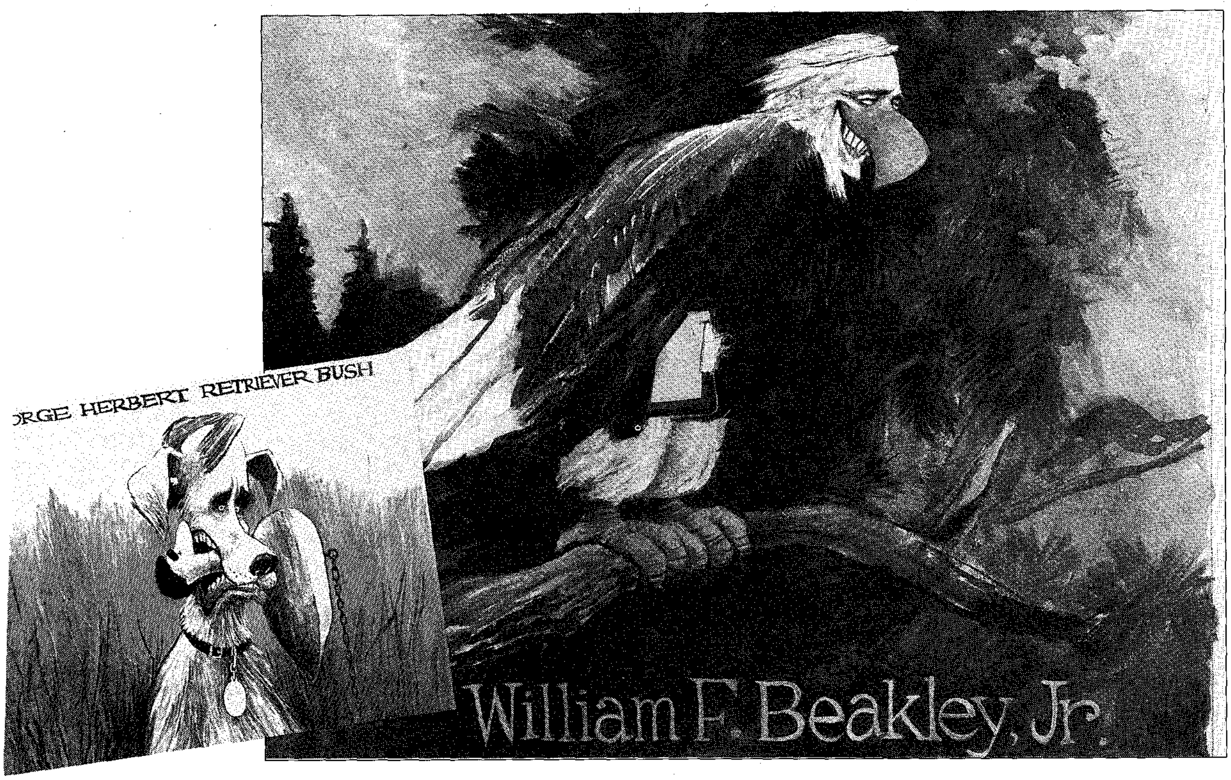
Mr. Horne's official biography of Harold Macmillan is to be published shortly in an updated paperback version by Viking Penguin.



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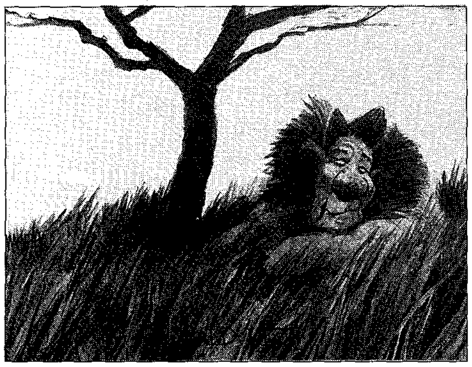

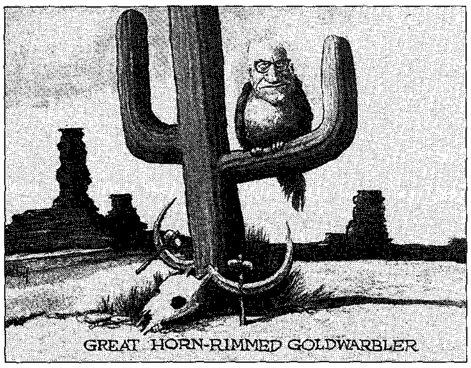

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(and, subsequently, in California's Mojave Desert), would perform even better in the Gulf desert—and, with the latest night-sights, "I am talking about 24 hours a day." He would not be drawn on the capability of cruise missiles; though the U.S.'s most powerful naval piece, the *USS Wisconsin*, is known to be stuffed with them.

Were sanctions working? Yes; as far as crucial spare parts for aircraft were concerned. A large proportion of Saddam's planes was progressively being grounded because of the shortage of spares. As for military timing, General Schwarzkopf remarked that he had been accused at various times of being both a dove and a hawk; but he preferred to think that he was an owl. He was certainly not going into battle "with only one day of supplies."

One thought, immediately, of the cautious Field Marshal Montgomery; at the same time wondering whether any World War II commander would have displayed such knowledge of political and diplomatic niceties—let alone such openness. Even a "Monty," or a MacArthur. It was hard not to be heartened by "Stormin' Norman's" calm optimism, and one could have wished Saddam had been present.

Much less sanguine were Oman's political leaders. Although a thousand miles from Kuwait itself, Oman, with both channels of the Straits of Hormuz (through which passes 90 per cent of all Gulf oil) running through its territorial waters, is of great strategic importance.

With "fundamentalist" Iran just a stone's throw away across those Straits, during the recent war Sultan Qaboos was assiduous in maintaining neutrality for predominantly Sunni Oman. Five years of bitter war against the Marxist Yemen in the early 1970s ingrained in him a deep awareness of the destructive potential of any war. He must also be painfully aware of what the uncertainties of war could do to dynastic, traditionalist Oman.

The Omanis strike one as a gentle and courteous people. With silver daggers (*khanjars*) strapped to their belts at every meeting, their leaders may seem to resemble medieval Bedouin potentates; but, educated in Britain, India, or the U.S., they are sophisticated and impressively well-informed. They speak with equal moderation about both the Gulf crisis and the Palestinian problem, but they make quite clear their preference for avoiding war—if humanly possible.

One of the sultan's most influential ministers several times used, in my hearing, the loaded word "dialogue," so favored by Saddam Hussein. I was talking to him the evening the news came through of President Bush's peace initiative—following so swiftly on the heels of the tough UN resolution accepting the use of force to expel Iraq from Kuwait. His delight was manifest.

Omani ministers were implicitly critical of the West's having encouraged the buildup of such a formidable military colossus in the Gulf in the first place. Yet they feared that the destruction of the Iraqi military machine now could gravely upset the balance of power in the Middle East as a whole.

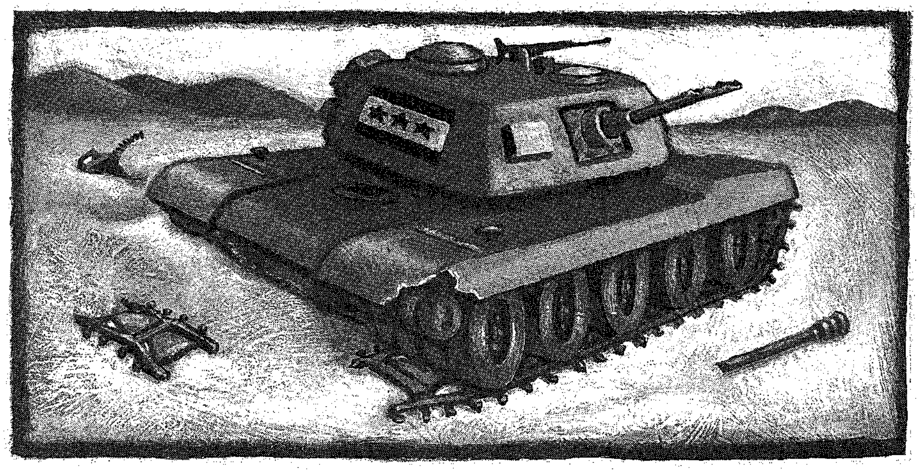
In their view, the "loose cannon" was Israel—which they feared would surely attack, if the United States were to hold back.

On the day that the UN resolution was announced, I was lunching in the sumptuous Al Bustan Palace Hotel, empty because of the war threat, but more evocative than anything else I have ever seen of Scheherazade's 1001 Nights. Incongruously, an expatriate band noisily played Irish jigs while a group of locally employed Brits danced. The combination of this and the sleek Australian frigates in Muscat harbor, the transport planes in somber camouflage colors at the airport—not to mention the advent of "Stormin' Norman"—made one think of that ball on the eve of Waterloo, in Brussels, in 1815.

As I flew out, the myriad lights of the Sultan's jamboree were going out—all over Oman. The party was over. □

Saddam's Supplies, Bush's Nerve

MARTIN AROSTEGUI



Matt Jasiorkowski

DHAHRAN, SAUDI ARABIA

'FOR THE TACTICIAN the desert is heaven. For the logistician it is hell." This is the conclusion of General Ali Belal, the amiable commander of Egypt's forty-thousand-man force in Saudi Arabia. He has fought in five desert wars—four in the Sinai and one in Yemen—and served as an advisor to the Iraqi army during its ten-year war with Iran.

He is squatting down for a lunch of roasted lamb with one of his commando units and a few U.S. Army officers wearing the crossed arrows of the Special Forces. They are in an isolated camp on the flat, empty quarter about 25 miles from the Kuwaiti border. Over lunch, he explains why the desert is one of the few environments where the tactical advantage does not rest with the defenders. Well-trained troops can maneuver easily on the flat, open terrain, but keeping static positions adequately supplied can become impossible. Supply depots are difficult to guard or conceal from air attacks, and even harder to move. "How do you transfer a water well?" he asks sardonically.

The U.S. Special Forces dug in with the Egyptians are coordinating plans

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Mr. Arostegui is a freelance journalist specializing in paramilitary affairs.

for the seizure of Iraqi water supplies. "We know where their water is and how to get at it," says Lieutenant-Colonel "Boy" Parsons. Thanks to their own training and the Egyptians' familiarity with the terrain, the U.S. forces are now so well adapted that another American officer can say, "The desert is our friend."

Some 125 miles to the east, U.S. Marines conduct war games. "We see that the Iraqis are having serious supply problems," Major John Huddleston explains, "and we are training to exploit those weaknesses." His battalion is practicing helicopter-borne assaults to leapfrog over the Iraqi trenches and seize Fuel, Armament, and Resupply Posts (FARPs). CH-53 Superstallion helicopters are barely visible against the night sky seconds before they are on top of a dummy FARP. The post's anti-aircraft defenses have already been taken out by missile-firing AH-1 Cobra helicopters. The Superstallion transports face only small-arms fire as they turn on landing lights and unload a Marine company. The assault force, wearing infrared night-vision goggles, overruns the FARP, seizing or destroying priceless stores of munitions, water, fuel, and food.

The Marines are under orders to hold the position until relieved by armored columns breaking through the front. Electronic measures have "blinded" Iraqi communications, so the Iraqi command is probably unaware of the raid. In case a counterattack is mounted in the few hours before the relief force arrives, helicopter reinforcements are on the way, and the Cobras hovering overhead have sufficient firepower to break any forces the enemy can scrape together in the meantime.

Is this just another rosy military scenario? Marine Cobras and Army Apaches flying at low altitude to avoid radar can virtually spring ambushes from behind small land elevations. They can close in on a target or fire laser-guided missiles from beyond artillery range. According to pilots with the Aviation Brigade of the 24th Mechanized Division, one Apache carries enough firepower to destroy everything in a square mile of open terrain. The Iraqis have no such weapon in their arsenal.

Airborne seizures of supply and other key installations behind Iraqi front lines should prove decisive in any ground offensive against Saddam's logistically overstretched army in Kuwait. With communications and supplies cut off, the five-hundred-thousand-strong army of occupation would collapse of its own weight in the desolate desert.

The allied advantage in the air is so great that while the balance of alliance air power supports armored penetrations of Iraqi lines and airborne assaults on the enemy rear, Air Force F-15s and F-16s and carrier-based Tomcats and Intruders can simultaneously inflict further damage on the Iraqi rear and wipe the skies clean of the few enemy planes that make it off the ground. For assaults on enemy air fields and logistical infrastructure, Iraq has no long-range bombers; the U.S. has B-52s, F-111s, and stealth aircraft. Finally, Iraqi air defenses are grossly inferior—for example, unlike the advanced U.S. Hawk missile system, each Iraqi battery can take on only one target at a time.

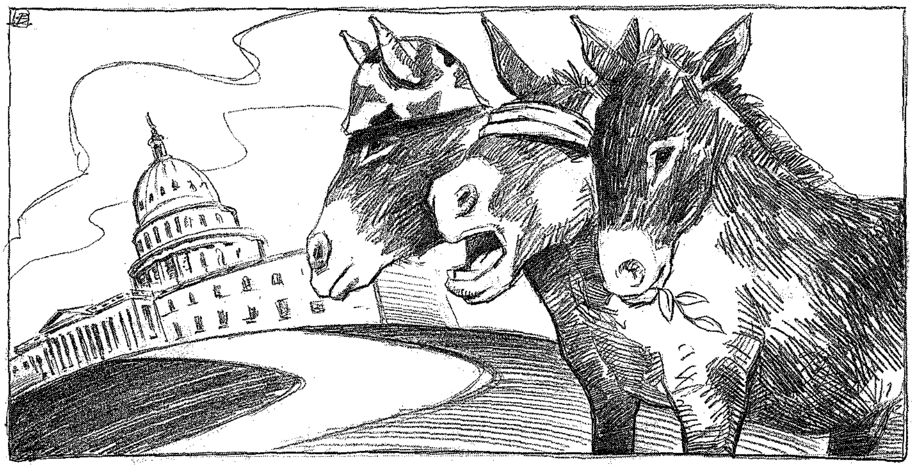
The Iraqis know that their situation in Kuwait is hopeless if war breaks out. Electronic interceptions of Iraqi communications reveal that Iraq's logistics are breaking down without a single shot being fired. According to an Arab intelligence source, the Iraqis in Kuwait "do not have enough water, enough fuel, enough food. Their morale is bad." The Kuwait force is bluff and intimidation: Saddam's strategy is clearly focused on the rivalry among individual nations opposed to him.

General Belal prefers not to call the Iraqis enemies but "brother Arabs who have committed an aggression." He hopes that as January 15 nears, Saddam will realize the desperate situation of his army and withdraw from Kuwait, sparing both sides the casualties of even a few days of fighting.

Saddam has no chance of winning a war. But he knows the U.S. has given in to totalitarian dictators before, to avoid expending American lives. If the Bush Administration does open negotiations, Saddam is likely to offer his foes a paper victory, provided he gains a substantial one—i.e., leaving Kuwait in exchange for certain "rights" over Kuwait. If Saddam refuses to leave Kuwait without a fight, it will be because the mixed signals he has received have led him to believe that the alliance's threats are not to be taken seriously. □

Democrats in Disarray

JACK FOWLER


Tim Bower

WASHINGTON, D.C.

A GROUP of House and Senate Democrats sues in federal court to bar President Bush from attacking Iraq without congressional approval. An opposing group of House Democrats establishes a hawkish organization calling for the elimination of Saddam Hussein. High-ranking senators growl publicly: Ted Kennedy sees a congressional "acquiescence in war"; Pat Moynihan lambastes "those sitting there in their white robes drinking coffee and urging us to war"; Sam Nunn warns of "American boys being sent and brought back in body bags."

Mr. Fowler is a reporter in NR*'s Washington bureau.*

Welcome to one of the most underreported stories of recent months: the Democratic Party's disarray over the Gulf crisis.

The confusion within the party ranks became public at a December 4 caucus meeting of House Democrats, at which Representative Richard Durbin (Ill.) put forward a "non-binding" policy proposal stating that Congress's approval was needed before the President could authorize a military strike in the Gulf. Durbin's timing couldn't have been worse: a *Washington Post* poll out that day showed strong public support both for Mr. Bush's handling of the crisis to date, and for the possible use of force against Iraq. Durbin's colleagues squirmed, and conservative Democrats reacted by moving successfully to amend the proposal, adding the provision that congressional approval would not be required in cases where the President should need "to protect American lives from imminent endangerment." The revised proposal passed 177 to 33, but still failed to establish a clear party stand on the Gulf.

Emerging in the five months since Saddam Hussein's land grab are three Democratic blocs: two comparatively small ones, one opposed to the President, the other supporting him; and a large one in the middle, unwilling to come down firmly on either side. The first bloc comes from the Democratic Left. Led by such as Ron Dellums (Calif.) in the House, and Ted Kennedy (Mass.) and Bob Kerrey (Neb.) in the Senate, it has been battling the Administration ferociously. Its major undertaking to date was the federal lawsuit mentioned above. The case, *Dellums* v. *Bush*, is still pending before U.S. District Judge Harold Greene.

On the other side is a coalition of traditional hawks and committed Israel backers. Headed by Stephen Solarz (N.Y.), a key member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and John Murtha (Pa.), chairman of the defense subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, this small, loosely coordinated bloc is closely associated with the newly created Committee for Peace and Security in the Gulf. The Committee, the brainchild of Solarz, is a bipartisan collection of political heavyweights both on and off Capitol Hill, and sweeping from the Left (Ann Lewis) to the Right (Jeane Kirkpatrick), which has effectively buttressed the White House's position, pointing out, among other things, that even if Saddam should pull Iraqi troops out of Kuwait, the "threat posed by his weapons of mass destruction requires that they be verifiably dismantled—or, if necessary, destroyed."

The bulk of Hill Democrats, however, remain in the mushy middle, unwilling to come down foursquare behind Mr. Bush, but equally unwilling to say his strategy and goals are simply wrong. While this group has grudgingly approved of some of the White House's Gulf moves, particularly the successful orchestration of the UN Security Council vote, it is increasingly concerned with laying the groundwork for portraying the party as blameless should the crisis blow up in the President's face.

Much of this has been accomplished through the Senate Armed Services Committee hearings chaired by Sam Nunn, whose nose remains disjointed after the White House's failure to consult him on doubling the U.S. troop deployment in Saudi Arabia. At the hearings, Democratic senators and high-profile witnesses warned gravely of troop unpreparedness, described grisly battle scenarios, and demanded more time to let sanctions squeeze the Iraqis. While each of these might be a point of valid debate, the criticisms were, essentially, potential we-told-you-sos, placed on the public record for easy Democratic access should any eventual military action turn sour.

Likewise for continued Democratic talk about an official declaration of war: there will be a "constitutional crisis" without one, says House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt; but, without one, Democrats will have another avenue of political exoneration should events go awry.

Through the end of 1990, Democrats staved off a formal disclosure of their divisions and foreign-policy partisanship by nixing a special session to debate and vote on the Gulf crisis. Indeed, Gephardt recently admitted that a vote on a resolution backing the use of force against Iraq could lose, with a solid majority of Democrats likely to vote no. With events practically mandating action on such a resolution now that the 102nd Congress has convened, some party leaders are hoping Saddam will do something outrageous to shift sentiment within the caucus.

The foreign-policy maxim has it that political bickering ceases at the water's edge. Today that's just where bipartisanship can be found—all washed up. ☐

The View from Israel

DAVID BAR-ILLAN

JERUSALEM

FOR ISRAEL, the Gulf crisis is a no-win situation. Like most of its Arab neighbors, with whom it is for the first time in agreement, Israel would like to see Saddam's 1.5-million-man army, 520 fighter jets, 5,000 artillery pieces, 5,600 tanks, several hundred medium-range missiles, and, of course, his chemical and biological warheads and incipient nuclear capability eliminated.

This is not just for the obvious reason that Israel will feel less threatened if a dictator sworn to destroy it is deprived of the means to do so. Israelis know that if Saddam is now merely forced to withdraw from Kuwait, if he survives the confrontation against "the whole world" with his military machine intact, he will be celebrated as the greatest Arab hero of this generation and become an even greater menace to the region and the world. Israel knows this from bitter experience. When Saddam's hero, Gamal Abdul Nasser, lost the Sinai in one week and surrendered Port Said virtually without a fight, he was deemed indomitable in the Arab world for surviving a confrontation with the combined forces of France, Britain, and Israel. His "victory" enabled him to mobilize a "grand Arab coalition" against Israel 11 years later.

But for Israel the destruction of Saddam will merely be a lesser evil. If the United States indeed takes the military route and destroys Iraqi power, the Administration will want to establish a "new world order" in the

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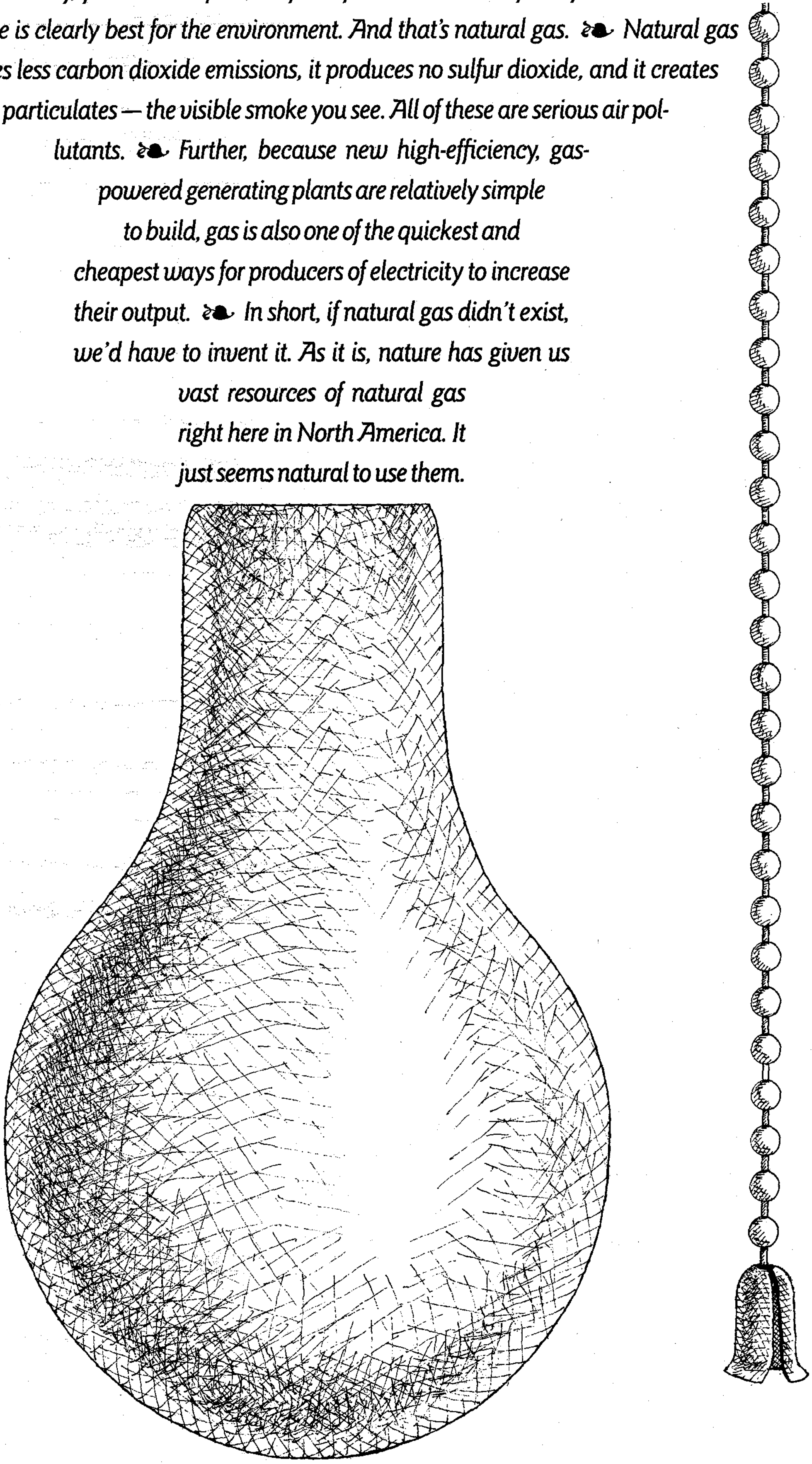
Mr. Bar-Illan is editorials editor of the Jerusalem Post.

Everyone agrees we'll soon be needing more electricity. But there's little agreement on how to get it. Especially with the environment at stake. ❧ Hydropower is limited by geography. Nuclear energy's problems continue to be debated. And the sun, the wind, the tides — they're all attractive, but none is economically practical on a broad scale yet. ❧ So, for at least the near future, we're going to have to rely, for the most part, on fossil fuels. ❧ But all fossil fuels are not created equal. One is clearly best for the environment. And that's natural gas. ❧ Natural gas produces less carbon dioxide emissions, it produces no sulfur dioxide, and it creates no particulates — the visible smoke you see. All of these are serious air pollutants. ❧ Further, because new high-efficiency, gas-powered generating plants are relatively simple to build, gas is also one of the quickest and cheapest ways for producers of electricity to increase their output. ❧ In short, if natural gas didn't exist, we'd have to invent it. As it is, nature has given us vast resources of natural gas right here in North America. It just seems natural to use them.



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region. Convinced that Arab–Israeli peace can be achieved only through Israeli concessions, it will pressure Israel to withdraw from the administered areas of Judea, Samaria, and Gaza. That these areas, consisting mostly of a strategic mountain ridge overlooking Israel's heartland, are vital to Israel's security, and that Kuwait, a country precisely the size of Israel, could be overrun and destroyed before the U.S. could do anything about it, will be ignored. With some American troops probably staying in the region, the Administration will promise to guarantee the peace. With Saddam eliminated, it will assume no one will perpetrate a similar aggression for fear of meeting a similar end.

But if Saddam is decisively beaten, only one of Israel's enemies will have been eliminated. For participating, albeit peripherally, in the anti-Saddam coalition Israel's other enemies will exact a high price. Syria, whose economic straits before the crisis forced it to halt weapons acquisitions, has already been rewarded with full control of Lebanon. Although Saddam is Syrian president Assad's arch-enemy, the Syrian contribution to the forces in the Gulf has yet to amount to more than three thousand troops. But Assad has received $1 billion as a first compensation, with which he is buying medium-range missiles in North Korea and new fighter jets from the USSR.

To retrieve some of the costs of the crisis, the U.S. will sell gigantic quantities of arms to the Saudis. That a Saudi pilot with his F-15 defected to the Sudan was underplayed in the American press; but F-15s in Saudi hands may well end up in Syria or Libya, or any other country which continues to wave the sword of holy war against Israel. Nor will the abundance of equipment enable the Saudis to defend themselves. Despite spending close to $200 billion on the military in the past 15 years, they have been careful not to let their army become large enough to threaten the monarchy, and they were totally helpless before the Iraqis. If they treat their new equipment as parade toys, they will be as vulnerable as the Kuwaitis were, and their American weapons will only tempt potential attackers—Iraqis, Iranians, or Yemenis. (The only serious threat to the American Air Force in the Gulf now is the Hawk missiles the Iraqis captured in Kuwait.)

On the other hand, a Saudi decision to enlarge the army would expose the monarchy to a military coup, which—as the Qaddafi coup did in Libya—would put Saudi Arabia in the radical camp. The presence on sacred Moslem ground of an infidel American garrison can do little to prevent this. It cannot be a force for peace in the region; it can only exacerbate fundamentalist restiveness. Then, even if Egypt stays stable and at peace with Israel, a Syria–Jordan–Arabia alliance can pose a formidable threat.

There is yet another reason why Israel, though wishing Saddam's disappearance, would rather not see Americans shedding blood in the Middle East. Clearly, it was to rescue Saudi Arabia, roll back Saddam, and protect its own interests that the U.S. sent troops to the Gulf. Israel's interests had nothing to do with it. On the contrary, when Saddam threatened only to incinerate Israel, the Administration strenuously opposed even the mildest congressional sanctions. But since Saddam's defeat will be seen as a boon to Israel, American sacrifices will inevitably be attributed at least partly to Israel's needs.

Jennifer Lawson

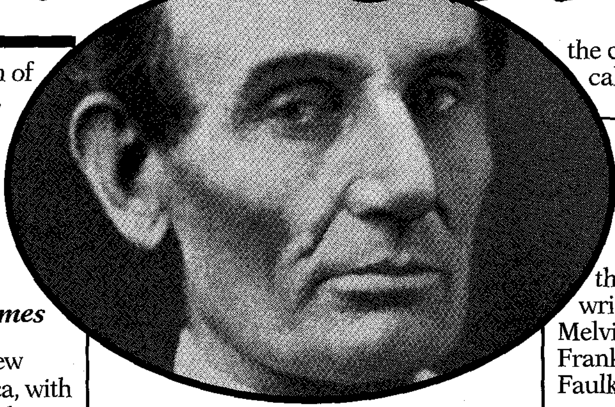
It is not the kind of precedent Israel wants to establish, for Israel has always insisted it wants no foreign troops to defend it. This is not a matter just of pride, but of cold practicality. Relying on international "guarantees," no matter how well intentioned, has proved useless in this century. Modern weapons and the speed of modern war make them ludicrous. Golda Meir once responded to a promise of American guarantees with: "By the time you get here we won't be here." Which proved painfully prophetic in the case of Kuwait.

But Israel will fare even worse if the Gulf crisis is resolved peacefully; if Saddam decides to withdraw, perhaps only partially, with the tacit understanding that Israel will be pressured into withdrawing from "the territories." The pressure on Israel will be not only a quid pro quo for Saddam's yielding ground and thus saving thousands of American lives. It will constitute a surrender to the belief, belied by history but propagated by all the Arab regimes, that once the Arab–Palestinian–Israeli dispute is resolved, a major irritant will have been removed from the Middle East.

Many among those who before the Gulf crisis advocated Israeli withdrawal from "the territories" now realize that had they been heeded, Israel would have been placed in mortal peril. Saddam would have wielded power over a land mass stretching from the Iranian border through Jordan and the PLO state in the West Bank to the center of Jerusalem and the suburbs of Tel Aviv. The prospect of this land mass being in hostile hands would not diminish even if a peaceful settlement achieved all of President Bush's announced goals. If Iraq withdraws from Kuwait, restores the emir to his throne, and officially submits to an arms embargo—knowing its enforcement is impossible—Saddam will still be a hero, and anti-Americanism, radicalism, and fundamentalism will rise to an unprecedented pitch. Israel will be in the untenable position of being pressured by the U.S. and the world community to forfeit territory vital to its security while its old enemies emerge stronger and more fanatic than ever.

To assume, as the Administration does, that defeating Saddam in war or making him yield through negotiations will bring "a new world order" to the region is to expect that the anti-totalitarian, anti-war revolutions in Eastern Europe can be duplicated in the Middle East. Nothing could be less realistic. In the Moslem world, from Algeria to Pakistan, fundamentalism and radicalism are on the rise. The buds of freedom and openness are few and far between. A new order cannot be imposed by American arms. It must come from within. But there are no Arab Gorbachevs on the horizon and certainly no Havels or Walesas. ☐

A. Lincoln.



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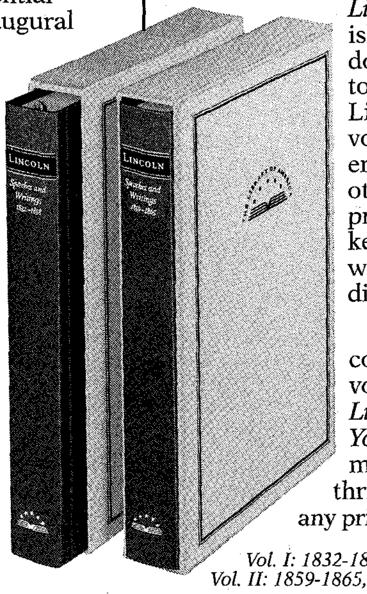
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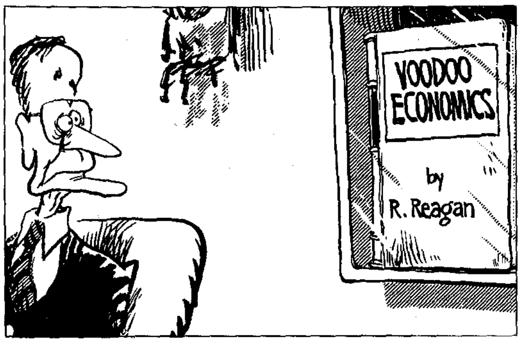


Are you better off than you were ten years ago? For Americans, Brits, Western Europeans, and, above all, Eastern Europeans, there is only one answer. But the media, Congress, and the Democrats keep giving the other. They know that the key to the future is the past.

JOHN O'SULLIVAN

A PARADOX HAS BEEN DEFINED as a fact standing on its head to attract attention. Mrs. Thatcher's fall from power and the apparent decline in President Reagan's reputation even as the ideas and policies associated with their names sweep all before them internationally may not be technical paradoxes; but they should alert us to the possibility that something inverted may be happening. A disproportion between reputation and achievement is not uncommon in politics; what is little short of unique is for a statesman's reputation to fall short of his achievements.

Economic successes, diplomatic advances, electoral victories, mass ideological conversions (of whole nations as well as individuals), international triumphs on the historic scale of the defeat of Napoleon or the Turks—all of these marked the Reagan–Thatcher decade. President Reagan gave the U.S. the longest peacetime economic expansion in its history and defeated the Soviet Union in the cold war. Mrs. Thatcher transformed sclerotic semi-socialist Britain into a vigorous market economy and was the European leader most obdurate in resisting Soviet pressure. Both leaders restored failing national morale at home and inspired a revival of market economics abroad—respectively pioneering tax cuts and privatization around the world.

The climax of their achievements came during the past year and a half, when the Eastern European countries overthrew their Communist regimes, elected democratic governments sympathetic to the West, and began to adopt economic reforms overtly modeled on Reaganism and Thatcherism. A more complete and unmistakable triumph of one system and set of ideas over another can hardly be imagined. Such achievements might reasonably be made the excuse for symphonic marches, firework displays, readings from the more triumphalist books of the Old Testament ("Thy right hand, O Lord, hath dashed in pieces the enemy"—Exodus, chapter 15, verse 6), and epic poems *not* commissioned by the NEA.

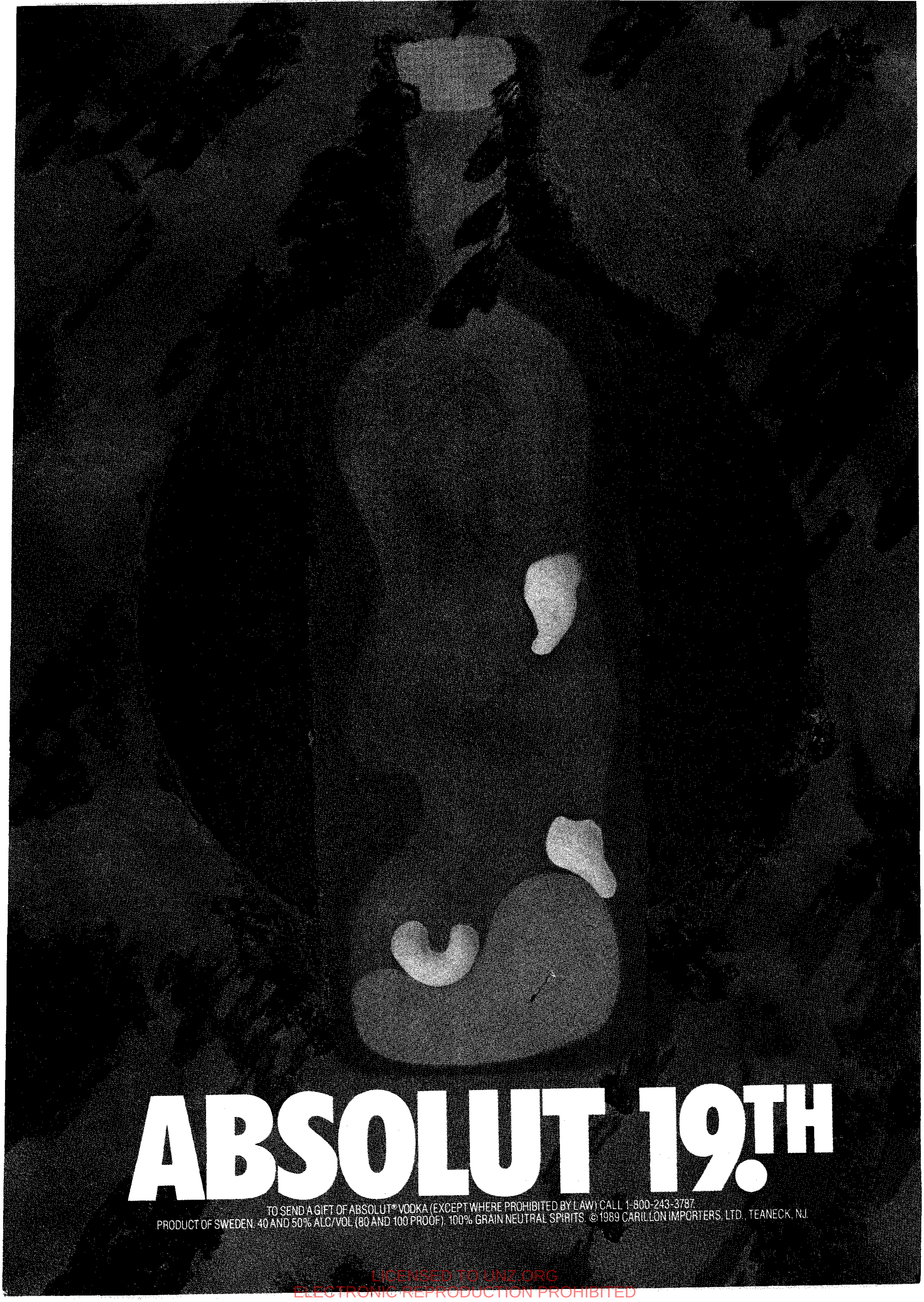
INSTEAD, a myth of the Eighties as a decade of greed, social callousness, and national bankruptcy has been invented and presented by the media as "reality." The actual record—increased economic well-being for all classes, at the cost of some increase in national indebtedness—is now routinely dismissed as the "illusions" of the Reagan years. In effect, we are asked to treat the millions of additional jobs, houses, cars, VCRs, personal computers, consumer goods, new companies, original technologies, and modern industries as transient and embarrassed phantoms, while regarding an increase in the federal deficit as the only solid economic reality. *Mediawatch* has amassed a large collection of such taken-for-granted anti-Reaganisms in the media—for example:

"Largely as a result of the policies and priorities of the Reagan Administration, more people are becoming poor and staying poor in this country than at any time since World War II."—Bryant Gumbel, *Today* show.

"If we don't find some way to raise new revenues—that means taxes—we're going to continue this self-deception, we're going to continue to add to the national

---

Mr. O'Sullivan, NR*'s editor, was formerly a special advisor to Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.*



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deficit, we're going to continue to cause this country to head toward an economic abyss."—Sam Donaldson on *This Week*.

The main objection to such accounts is that they are false. They are also crass. Their essential absurdity gets in the way of intelligent discussion. Some things, after all, did go wrong in the 1980s. They always do. How did they happen? Can they be righted?

LET US TAKE, as an example, that staggering deficit. It is, of course, less staggering than painted. As a percentage of Gross National Product, the deficit fell from 1983 until 1990, when it started to rise as a result of a slowing economy together with unexpectedly high outlays for the S&L bailout. Secondly, the deficit was a triumph not of Reaganism but of bipartisanship. Tax revenues rose in the Reagan years from $517 billion to $909 billion. The reason for the higher deficit was that spending by the Democrat-controlled Congress rose still higher. Nor was this spending rise merely the effect of Reagan's defense build-up. Domestic spending in the Reagan years increased from $313 billion to $533 billion. And even if the rise in the deficit had been caused solely by the defense build-up, as liberal critics sometimes imply, then that would have meant the deficit had financed the Soviet defeat in the cold war and the prospect of a less dangerous world. Surely an excellent bargain.

Whatever its provenance, however, the deficit exists and needs to be dealt with. We are less likely to deal with it sensibly if we regard it as the symbol of a wicked decade that needs to be overturned in its entirety. We are more likely to do so if we see it plain as a sort of fiscal thermostat which, in the absence of either congressional restraint or a presidential line-item veto, controls spending by instilling fear into legislators when it rises to a certain level and relaxes that control when its decline makes them complacent again.

On this analysis the rational policy would be to introduce a constitutional method of controlling expenditure, thus making the deficit redundant in this regard and eliminating it at the same time. Raising taxes—which is the policy response evoked by puritanical masochism over Eighties prosperity—merely ensures that the thermostat kicks in at a higher level of federal spending. The most such a tax hike achieves is a short breather before the extra revenue is absorbed by additional spending and the agitation for deficit-reducing taxes starts all over again. The Darman–Sununu–Bush embrace of higher taxes is thus the political expression of their psychological weakness in the face of the media's version of the Reagan–Thatcher years, a symbolic repentance for symbolic Greed. But a kinder, gentler Presidency will always be a pushover for Teenage Mutant Ninja Economists like Sam Donaldson.

A larger problem with the Reagan–Thatcher legacy, however, is that it seems to be faltering around the world. There was Mr. Bush's retraction of his "no new taxes" pledge. Australia's Labor government, which removed import controls and financial regulation, is in the economic and political doldrums. All of the Eastern European economies, though at different stages of economic liberalization, are facing severe crises. Most symbolic of all, Mrs. Thatcher has fallen to be replaced by a successor who envisions a more classless and compassionate society. Is it all over?

To begin with, as Tallulah Bankhead said of *Waiting for Godot*, there is less in this than meets the eye. Some of these reverses are rooted in the very process of improvement. If millions of jobs have been artificially maintained in subsidized loss-making factories, as in Eastern Europe, then the transition to a free economy will require factory closures and transitional unemployment as capital is transferred to genuinely productive use. Some reverses may be self-correcting. With the Democrats already reneging on their budget "concessions," President Bush has lost Republican-congressional and voter support and gained nothing in return. His new "no new taxes" pledge, though less credible, may be more trustworthy. And some may not be reverses at all. Britain's John Major is an economic "dry" who declared in his first speech as prime minister that he "loathed" inflation. His "classless society" turns out, on examination, to be very little different from Mrs. Thatcher's opportunity society of wider capital ownership, lower taxes, greater incentives, and privatization.

Is there, however, a general problem afflicting the Reagan–Thatcher revolution? Their conservatism can be seen as the marriage of two principles: stability in monetary affairs and competition in broad economic policy. In the early Eighties both Mr. Reagan and Mrs. Thatcher cut inflation sharply by tight control of the money supply. After an initial recession, that created the conditions of underlying stability in which people could plan ahead without the arbitrary changes in value, unlegislated income transfers, and misleading price signals that rapid inflation causes. It became easier to extend the principle of competition throughout the economy and society since businesses, investors, and workers would not be misled by inflationary signals into devoting their capital and energies to uneconomic or highly speculative projects. The mid-Eighties duly saw the triumph and vindication of this non-inflationary competition in the form of a long economic expansion combined with stable prices.

But competition—broadly defined to include tax cuts, free trade, financial deregulation, the withdrawal of subsidies, and the transfer of state-owned industries to the private sector—achieves more than economic efficiency. As Paul Craig Roberts argues in this issue, it breaks down hierarchies that monopolize and obstruct wealth creation and so opens up opportunities for the mass of people to better their lives.

AS THE Eighties progressed, these wider social effects were felt. Mr. Reagan's defeat of the air-traffic controllers and Mrs. Thatcher's conquest of the miners weakened union power, removing both traditional barriers to new entrants on the shop-floor and disincentives to new entrepreneurs. Deregula-

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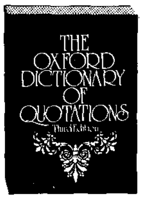
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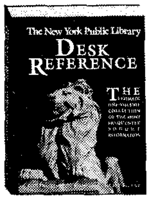
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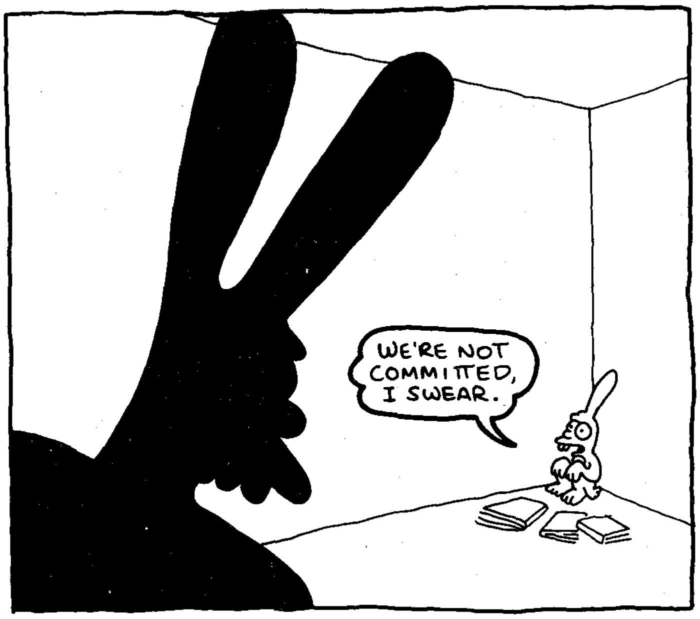
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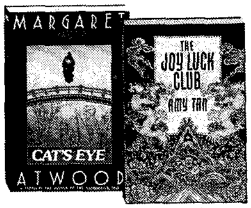
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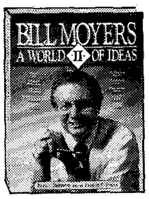
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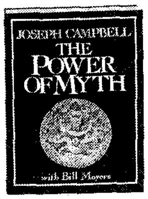
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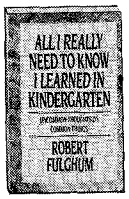
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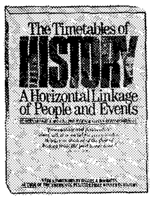
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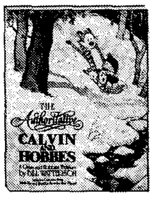
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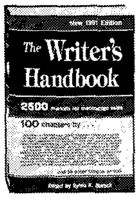
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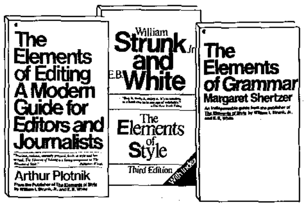
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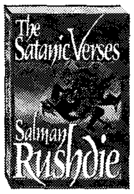
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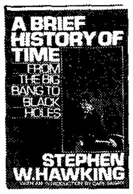
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tion of the airlines and communications cut prices and allowed the creation of whole new industries with millions of new jobs. Financial deregulation enabled entrepreneurs to challenge the established houses of Wall Street and the City of London and to wrest control of major corporations from hitherto entrenched managements which had largely ignored the interests of shareholders.

Competition also redrew the boundaries between public and private. In Britain Mrs. Thatcher sold shares in former nationalized industries to millions of smaller investors. Indeed, throughout the world, state-owned industries which had been protected against competition were "privatized" into a revived market. Power and wealth were thereby transferred from bureaucrats to consumers.

Even in international affairs, it was military and economic competition, waged by the Reagan Administration, that forced the Soviet Union to abandon its aggressive military posture and to embark on a program of internal reform. In Eastern Europe, Communist elites that had enjoyed a semi-feudal use of state property, were forced to surrender their control to the mass of people. Like a great wind, competition swept through the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Wall Street, and the industry of the Western world, changing the social and political landscape.

NO CONSERVATIVE can view such a whirlwind with blithe approval. The conservative case for accepting such change rests in part on the painful futility of attempting to resist it. Since change will eventually burst through the strongest barrier, its compressed force when it does will cause a far more convulsive upheaval than would be involved in a gradual accommodation to it. But the constant change imposed by competition inevitably overturns established patterns and frustrates legitimate expectations. Even when these pains are soothed in various ways, they still arouse opposition and stimulate policies to restrain the competition that caused them. If the arbitrary and avoidable disasters of inflation are added to them, an almost irresistible coalition arises to blame *all* the ills on "deregulation" and to demand a return to controls. Competition therefore requires, above all, the monetary stability that we enjoyed in the mid Eighties.

That stability disappeared in the late 1980s following two events. The 1987 stock-market crash convinced Western governments that a sharp increase in the money supply was needed to avert a slump of Thirties dimensions. But the crash was merely a market correction of overvalued stocks. The money thus fed directly into higher inflation. Meanwhile, the Louvre agreement, reached shortly before the crash, committed governments to maintaining their currencies in broadly fixed relationships. Since it is possible to target either exchange rates or interest rates but not both, this prevented governments from raising and lowering interest rates to deal with domestic monetary pressures. The inflation was duly perpetuated and in some cases exaggerated. Among the consequent effects were a great expansion of credit, corresponding rises in asset and property prices, large-scale borrowing on inflated assets, and what the British columnist William Rees-Mogg has aptly called "the financing of nonsense."

Nonsense cannot be sustained. In due course, governments had to push down this inflationary bubble with monetary restraint and higher interest rates. When they did so, property prices fell, over-indebted businesses went bust, homeowners received larger mortgage bills, and the tower of speculation collapsed.

Of course, this rake's progress took different forms in different countries. Australia, whose credit binge was especially wild, is suffering a credit crunch of equal severity. Britain, which piled the monetary expansion of 1987 on top of strong and soundly based economic growth, then attracted further inflows of foreign money. Together, these provided the base for a credit inflation which almost three years of 15 per cent interest rates has still not repressed.

But it is the U.S. which provides the most instructive case. Under the cautious policy of the Federal Reserve, inflation has been modest. But a substitute for inflation was found in the various federal schemes for guaranteeing deposits against risk. Whereas inflation (while it lasts) encourages irrational borrowing by reducing the real value of debt payments, government-financed deposit insurance encourages irrational lending by greatly reducing the risk element. In both cases, wild speculation is the natural result. If someone else is paying the bill, why not have a party?

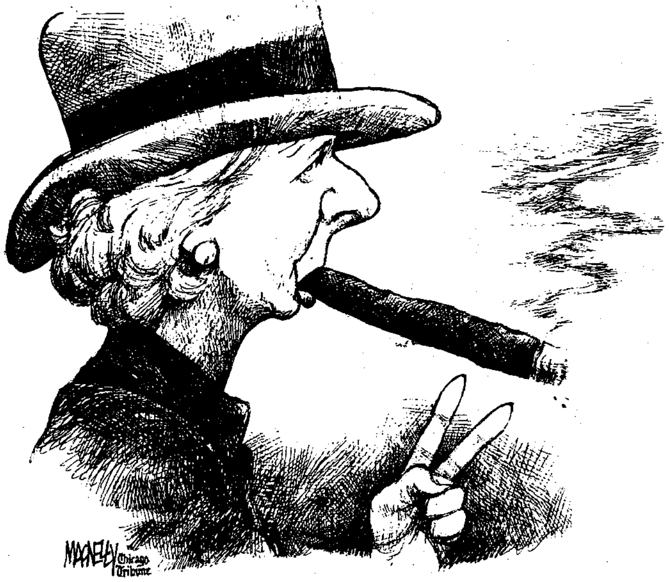
When people experience the consequences of monetary instability—directly through higher prices, or indirectly through secondary symptoms like bankrupt financial institutions and the collapse of house prices—they not unnaturally blame these effects on the markets, financial institutions, and entrepreneurs who are its visible agents. Insofar as they hold government responsible, they criticize the deregulation which seems to have allowed unsound and deceptive enterprises to flourish. Hence the media and public obsession with greed, callousness, and so on.

In effect, the conservative revolution went wrong by forgetting some of its own principles. By making a well-intentioned attempt (that owed more to Keynes than to either Friedman or Hayek) to stimulate demand, conservative governments blundered into monetary instability. By attempting to rig the foreign-exchange markets, they perpetuated their error. And the monetary instability they created then undermined the competition on which their other economic and social achievements were based.

WHERE DO WE go from here? Conservatives must return to the problem, botched in the last four years, of making social and economic change acceptable by combining competition and stability in the right proportions. Socialists and statist liberals inevitably fail in this by seeking to obstruct competition directly by various forms of intervention.

They protect car workers against Japanese competition by tariffs, or they defend small airlines against larger ones by regulation, or they maintain high wages in a crowded labor market by controlled-entry union shops, or they safeguard adolescent industries with government subsidies. Such devices achieve only temporary relief. They tend ultimately to a society that is inefficient, rigid, relatively impoverished, and technologically outclassed. If the U.S. were to go down that road, we would soon be playing toward Japan the role that the Soviet Union played toward us in the late Eighties. And we would suffer the same fate internally—chronic instability born of stagnation.

Neither an individual nor a society, however, could subsist on a total diet of change and competition. Both would suffer a nervous breakdown without elements of stability in their lives. What conservatives have traditionally realized is that such stability must be provided by social institutions and habits that themselves adapt to change rather than obstructing it. Four kinds of stability are needed to soften the effects of competition:



First, financial stability. If the value of money—hence of savings, pensions, investments and property—is safe, people have a cushion against change.

Second, there is the larger concept of economic stability expressed by wider ownership of homes, pensions, and shares, by the expansion of small businesses and personal entrepreneurship, and by more flexible employment, with re-training, transferrable pensions, and a drive against "credentialitis." But we should also extend the concept of ownership to employment. Norman Macrae of the London *Sunday Times* argues that large corporations might be reorganized so that departments now staffed by salaried employees would become independent partnerships on the same lines as law firms, selling their services to the parent company (and perhaps also to outsiders). Employee-partners would receive not merely salaries but also a share in the partnership's annual profits. They would gain greater control over their working lives, enjoy a cooperative rather than a subordinate relationship to the corporation, and thus over time be more likely to propose innovation at the workplace, where at present they often resist it. They would also "sell" their shares in the partnership when they retired, moved elsewhere, or were "fired" in hard times. They would, in effect, have a stake in economic change. This capitalist version of syndicalism is already happening, but its spread might be encouraged by fiscal incentives.

Third, there is social stability, which, in this context, means fostering institutions independent of government that link people together in a sense of common community—churches, charities, private associations of every kind. They train people in the habits of collective self-reliance, soften the harsh edges of economic competition, and succor the casualties of change, whether "the poor" in some permanent sense, or the rest of us on occasion. Wherever possible, such mediating institutions should replace political bureaucracies, since they are, literally and metaphorically, closer to the individual and can give the most appropriate help. For that very reason, they help the poor back into independence rather than accustoming them to pauperism. People who would never cheat their neighbors feel no guilt about defrauding the government.

Finally, there is psychological stability. Traditional values help people to make sense of a world of change; "middle-class morality" helps them to succeed in a world of competition; both help them to cope with failure.

The broad social ideal outlined here—a limited government, prudent finance, an independent citizenry with a stake in the economy, a network of little platoons, the diffusion of a Godfearing morality—might almost be seen as a post-industrial version of the American Republic of self-reliant agricultural smallholders envisioned by the Founding Fathers. The fact that it is also the social ideal of the age's leading Tory is perhaps one of life's larger ironies. ☐

NEW PARADIGMS, OLD PRINCIPLES

JAMES P. PINKERTON

IN *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Thomas Kuhn used the term "paradigm shift" to describe scientific advance. Mrs. Thatcher and Mr. Reagan will stand forever as the Copernicus and Galileo of political economy—courageous visionaries whose leadership overturned a decadent orthodoxy. Our challenge is to complete the revolution. New ideas are noisy, but they are essential for a new age.

Some of the momentum for these new ways of thinking derives from permanent, structural changes in our

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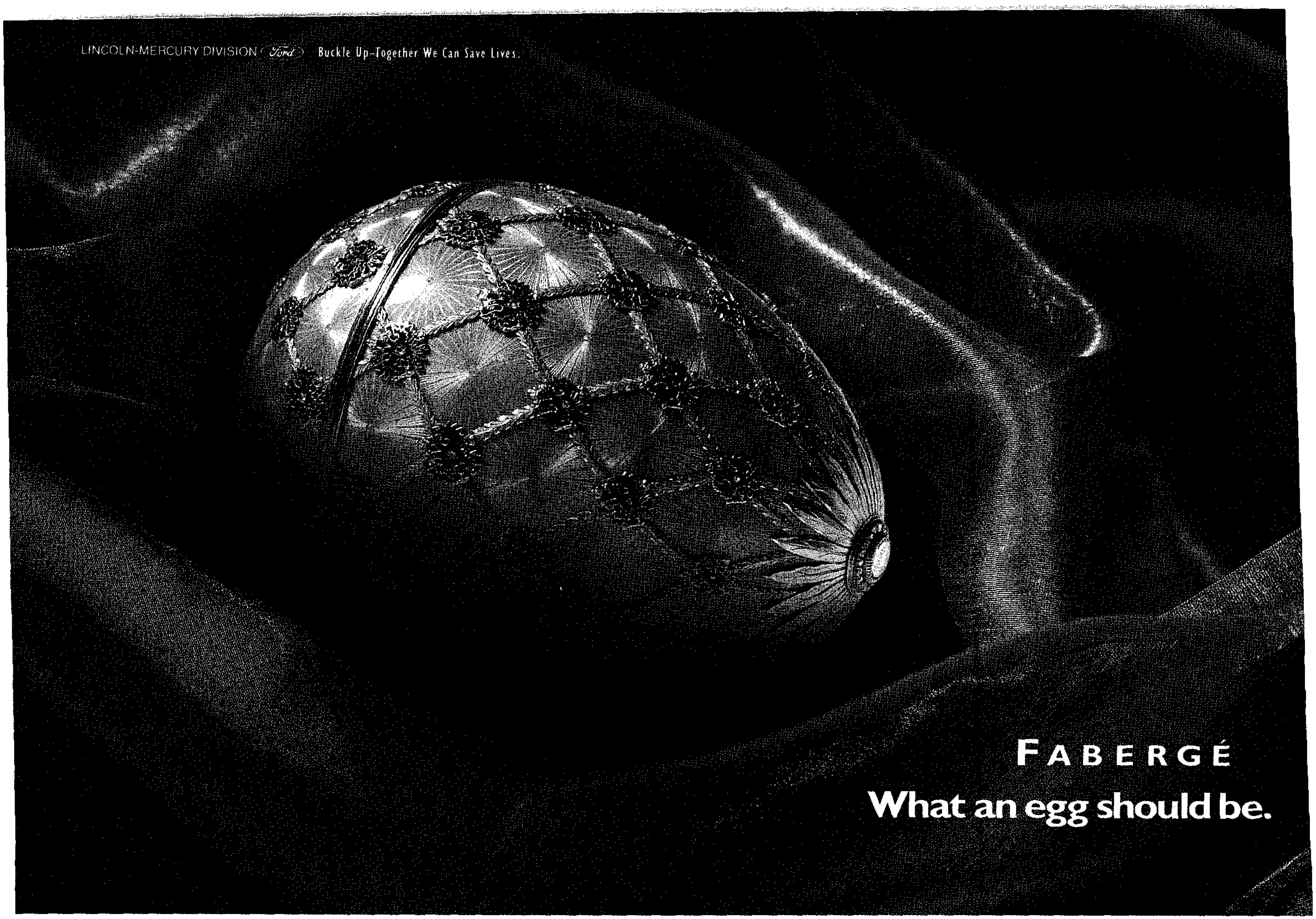
Mr. Pinkerton is a domestic advisor in the Bush White House.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world. For example, George Orwell was certainly right about the bleak soul of totalitarianism, but he was wrong about the centralizing impact of technology. Another George—George Gilder—has it right: The new inventions disperse power. The microchip empowers the individual, not Big Brother. Armed with the only true power there is in this world—the power of an alternative—people now see that in a world of change, the state must change as well.

More information about what works and what doesn't is empowering people to cast off the corporatist/bureaucratic hierarchy. Around the planet, people are learning to adapt to a new reality of knowledge-based decentralization. President Bush captured this concept in the image: "a thousand points of light." This is not a literary metaphor for *noblesse oblige*. It is a Tocquevillean evocation not only of mutuality but also of decentralization. George Bush did not say, "one big point of light." Every public and private enterprise should be constantly engaged in a dynamic search for the best way to solve problems. We can be confident that better answers will emerge from this open process of principled experimentation.

The conservative movement can benefit from these changes only if we absorb two lessons: First, the American people do not like taxes. Second, they *do* want a kinder, gentler America. The great question is: Which leader, which party, which outlook comes closest to achieving what the voters want?

We have to move, following Thomas Kuhn, from an old paradigm that sees governments as centralized bureaucracies solving problems by spending more money—measuring *input*, not *outcome*—to a new paradigm that takes an entrepreneurial approach to government, emphasizing results, breaking up monopoly bureaucracies, offering choice and empowerment, relying on market forces, saving money and saving people at the same time. We can win by holding the line on government even as we strive to be kinder, gentler, and *smarter*.

Even if the argument were correct that we need more money to solve our problems, the way to create revenues is through an energized private sector. We observe that total domestic spending (excluding debt and defense) for local, state, and federal government totaled more than $1.3 trillion in 1989—more than 25 per cent of GNP. Those numbers suggest that government-as-usual needs a qualitative restructuring before it should even contemplate a quantitative increase. The public-education system, which spends a national average of $5,200 per pupil, should be forced to compare its effectiveness with that of private and parochial schools. As a matter of principle, as well as effectiveness, all parents should be empowered to make the final decision about their children's schooling.

Conservatives do not want merely to seize control of a politicized bureaucracy and steer it to the right for a change. Our goal is more profound: to devolve power away from political-bureaucratic cliques and bring it to the sovereign individual and mediating structures—families, neighborhoods, and voluntary associations.

LET ME outline the major strands of this new paradigm.

1. *Market forces.* Capital flows can now be rerouted instantaneously, across nations and oceans. The policy-maker who tinkers foolishly will discover that bad results now become apparent with the flash of an electron.

2. *Individual choice.* Choice implies faith that people know about themselves—what their needs are, what their talents and skills are, what they want, and what they don't want. Peter Berger makes the point that belief in choice is the same as belief in democracy. After all, if we cannot trust people to choose their children's schools, how can we trust them to elect the leaders who will decide issues of defense or foreign policy?

3. *Empowerment.* Empowerment means people taking control of their own lives. It redefines "compassion" not as custodial care but as liberating people from dependency by providing the opportunity to become self-sufficient. Thus Jack Kemp, the chairman of the President's Task Force on Economic Empowerment, has fought for home ownership for all and enterprise zones to encourage the entrepreneurial spirit in the inner city.

4. *Decentralization.* Pushing decision-making downward and outward, to the level closest to the people, has always been an operating principle of American government. Take federalism, for example. The Founding Fathers believed in the states as "laboratories of democracy." Many of the best new ideas—school choice is one example—have emerged from these labs.

5. *What works.* Cynics say this is mere pragmatism, but it is actually a matter of conservative principle. As President Bush has said, "Our principles, conservative principles, were always right. And now the whole world can see that what's right also works." In contrast to the old paradigm, which measured programs created and dollars spent, the new paradigm rewards goals achieved.

Meanwhile, the central issue of national politics at present is the battle between the executive and the legislature: a duel of national *v.* special interest that the Founding Fathers could not have imagined. We must prepare for a long twilight struggle; the line-item veto is just one flashpoint on the constitutional frontier. State governors of both parties are potential allies in a conservative Hannibalian strategy of going around Capitol Hill. True victory, however, will come when an empowered citizenry rejects the old idea that bureaucratic middlemen should arrogate basic decisions that people can better make for themselves.

President Reagan and Prime Minister Thatcher are gone from the seats of power. But the conservative movement is close to becoming a majority coalition, combining the power of family-oriented evangelicals and libertarian supply-siders. The ultimate victory coa-

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lition, however, will be even more heterogeneous: blacker, browner, more female.

Yet, even as we win the intellectual war around the world, it is still possible to lose the political battle at home. We are at a breakpoint; after two centuries of momentum toward brute bureaucracies eager to bulldoze the "little platoons" in their path, those little platoons are finding themselves and finding each other. In the coming decade, it is time to help them mobilize, to share with them all that we have learned, and then to call upon the rest of America to join us. ☐

THE NEXT STAGE OF THATCHERISM

ROBIN HARRIS

ACCORDING to the BBC, the reaction of most Conservative MPs to Mrs. Thatcher's departure from 10 Downing Street was not regret at what had happened but rather relief at "having lanced the boil." The mood continues.

The ease with which so many Conservatives have discarded Mrs. Thatcher and her ideas is not explicable simply by their rise in the opinion polls. The Conservative Party is a coalition of interests, views, and traditions—but predominantly of interests. Only a minority of its parliamentary representatives has ever seen its role as to change the way the country is governed so as to protect and strengthen conservative values. Mrs. Thatcher demonstrated to a party demoralized by losing four out of five successive elections that clarity of principle and purpose made political sense.

Mrs. Thatcher and her mentor, Keith Joseph, used the period after the Conservative Party's defeats in 1974 to reconsider party policy from first principles. Like Keith Joseph, she saw the Conservatives as having become stranded on the middle ground of British politics, offering a paler version of socialism. Her aim became to reach out over the heads of the vested interests to the real consensus of conservative values. This was the common thread that bound her policies together. She believes passionately in the dignity of individual people, above all individual British people; in their latent talents, sense of responsibility, and good-humored patriotism. Consequently, her policies were single-mindedly directed at giving individuals more control over their own lives, while strengthening their sense of responsibility, within a strong framework of laws.

With private enterprise free to flourish, the British economy boomed. In the Eighties, Britain grew faster than any of its European competitors. Living standards rose. Unemployment fell well below the European average. A huge program of privatizing state-owned industries brought share ownership to millions. Public-sector tenants were given the right to buy their homes at large discounts: over a million chose to do so. As a result of policies like this people are able to pass on substantial capital sums to their children, giving them a better start. Mrs. Thatcher feels as strongly about this as about anything else, and she has done more than any previous prime minister to achieve it. It was Mrs. Thatcher who was first to insist on stationing cruise missiles to resist Soviet blackmail, just as it was she who first recognized in Mr. Gorbachev the opportunities for change.

But what of Mrs. Thatcher's failures? First, there was the narrow political failure: her party deserted her. Mrs. Thatcher was never a machine politician. She always believed, as big people are inclined to, that when little people say yes they agree. In successive reshuffles of Cabinet ministers, she was prepared to follow the advice of, and even to appoint and promote, those who did not share her convictions. In the end, she paid for it. Had she been more ruthlessly doctrinaire, her position in those final weeks would have been stronger.

But there was also policy failure. The reason why the Conservative Party eventually turned against her was the opinion polls; and the reason why the government was performing so badly there was the level of interest rates (necessary to bring down inflation). This problem arose because Mrs. Thatcher failed—or was unable—to pursue the policies she instinctively wished. Her government lost control of inflation because her chancellor of the exchequer allowed monetary growth to accelerate in pursuit of exchange-rate stability. Mrs. Thatcher, by contrast, remained a monetarist to the end.

JUST AS RECEIVED opinion is wrong about the sources of Mrs. Thatcher's success and failure, so it is wrong about the policy challenges of the 1990s. There is no room for complacency about the British economy or British society or the emerging protectionist bloc into which Britain is increasingly being drawn. The first and main priority of Mrs. Thatcher's government had to be the reversal of Britain's potentially catastrophic economic decline. Even here continued advances will require not just a continuation, but an acceleration, of policies to deregulate markets and to cut down the burden of state spending and taxes. But today's most intractable problems result from that social decline which Mrs. Thatcher, almost alone among British politicians, had begun to address in the last 18 months of her government. A combination of socialism's legacy of dependence and the collapse of traditional values, has resulted in burgeoning family breakdown, educational decline, delinquency, homelessness, and crime. The crucial question for conservatives in the years ahead will be how to re-create—and, in some cases, to create—a responsible conservative society; just as the main task of the Eighties was to create a conservative enterprise economy. That will involve strengthening

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Mr. Harris served as a domestic-policy advisor to Mrs. Thatcher.

the natural traditional institutions from which a free society is formed—family, neighborhood, and nation—by, on the one hand, dispensing ownership and power more widely, while, on the other, upholding order, discipline, and standards more effectively.

Inside or outside Europe's exchange-rate mechanism of converging currencies—but certainly outside a single currency—price stability must be the aim. That will require a return to a rigorous strategy of controlling the money supply. The lesson of Britain's experience over the last three years is that the economy cannot prosper if inflation is allowed to take off. The cost of price stability is eternal vigilance.

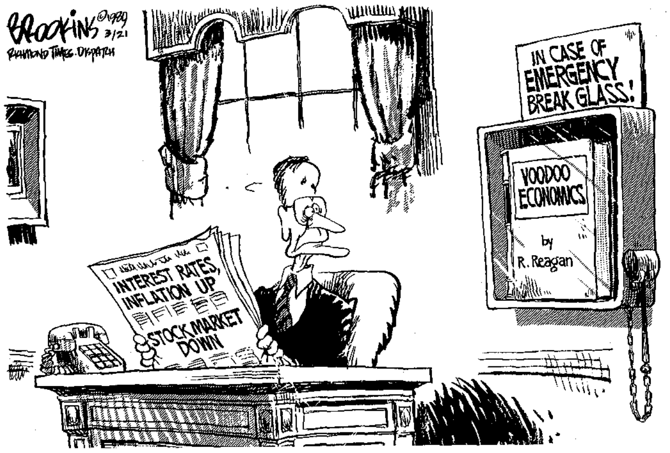
Meanwhile, further cuts in income-tax rates, including abolition of the highest rate, are needed to boost incentives, and more needs to be done to promote individual savings. The state is still taking too high a share of the citizen's income in taxes, which penalizes thrift and effort, and accelerates the drift toward a society run by the bureaucracy for the dependent.

Great Britain is still suffering from trade-union-induced sclerosis. Its workforce is more highly unionized than those of the United States or most Western European countries. As a result, at the first sign of renewed inflation, collective bargaining has forced wage costs up to uncompetitive levels. The fact is that trade unions simply have no useful role to play in increasingly large areas of the economy. Further measures to reduce union power are required if business is to keep its costs down and jobs are to multiply.

Britain still has too many nationalized industries, which almost by definition are uncompetitive and badly run. Thus privatization is essential to deal with, for example, Britain's congested, inefficient, and sloppily run transport system. It would bring in better management and adequate levels of investment. Coal should also be transferred to private ownership. But there should be generous provision for worker share ownership and, where possible, for ownership of pits. The next stage of Thatcherism is to encourage a variety of industrial organizations, including employee-owned businesses. Capitalism is too important to be left to capitalists.

In social policy, the vision must be as clear as in economic policy. The still-prevailing ethos of liberal-socialism in education, in social security, and in housing has to be challenged and changed by principled conservative argument. That argument is for empowering individuals and local communities against government, for wider property ownership and stronger ties of family and community responsibility, and for using the tax, benefit, and criminal-justice systems to reward good behavior and discourage bad. And if the notions of "good" and "bad" cause intakes of breath in the bureaucracy, so much the better.

In education, the great majority of schools now need to be torn away from local-authority ownership and given complete control of their budgets, as has already been done with the new grant-maintained schools—in effect, independent schools financed by the central government. Many of the advantages of vouchers have already been offered by Mrs. Thatcher's reforms of public-sector schools. But an education voucher would also allow poorer parents to choose *private* education for their children: there is no better route to the "classless society."



Equally, rigorous appraisal of state teachers should be used to change the Sixties-style teaching methods which have undermined standards. That appraisal will need to be carried out by a new or reformed national inspectorate of schools to which more outsiders are recruited. We must avoid at all costs the state of affairs, familiar on both sides of the Atlantic, and well described by "Ted Pauker" (see *New and Collected Poems*, by Robert Conquest):

"Those teach *who can't* do*" runs the dictum,*
But for some even that's out of reach:
They can't even teach—so they've picked 'em
To teach other people to teach.
Then alas for the next generation,
For the pots fairly crackle with thorn.
Where psychology meets education
A terrible bull---- is born.

In housing, we must add to Mrs. Thatcher's achievement in turning a million council tenants into homeowners. Ownership must be brought within the reach of still more tenants by turning their rents into mortgage payments. Under such a scheme they would acquire a real stake in the value of their home. There is also much to be learned from the success of community housing trusts in the U.S., which have involved tenants in the improvement and management of housing projects. The secret must be, wherever possible, to bypass the bureaucracies, central and local. The social-security system needs yet another overhaul—but this time with the clear aim of removing perverse incentives, whether it be to become pregnant outside marriage or to fail to save sufficiently for old age.

The most extraordinary characteristic of Mrs. Thatcher was always her ability to go back to first principles and then to base a detailed policy upon them. This is what makes her not only a great prime minister but a great Conservative. She knows that economic policies will not work unless they appeal to human instincts. She knows that what no one owns, no one cares for. She sees the wood *and* the trees. □

Crisis in the Gulf

WAITING FOR SANCTIONS

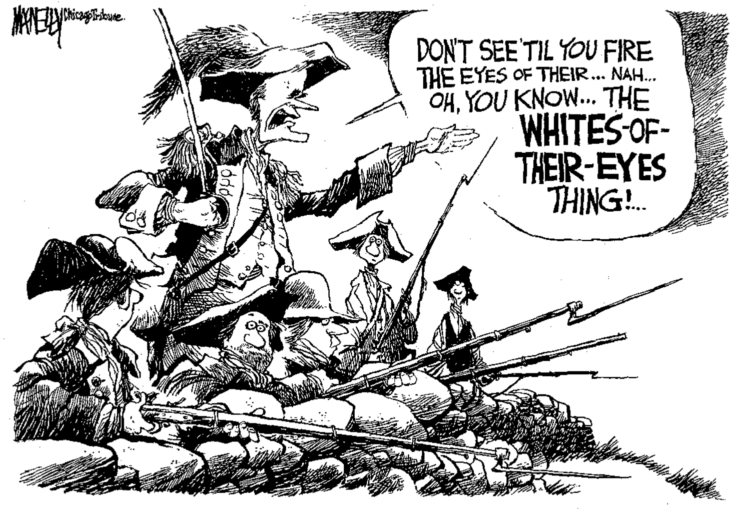
If sanctions were a function of economics, ours against Saddam would be bound to work. But sanctions are only as good as the threat of war behind them.

PETER W. RODMAN

WILL ECONOMIC sanctions against Saddam Hussein work? What are the risks of waiting to find out? The agonizing truth about this debate is that neither side can prove its case until the President has made an irrevocable decision. Such is the burden of the statesman.

CIA Director William Webster's congressional testimony regarding the impact of sanctions did not prejudge the policy question but stated the truth as best we can know it now: Sanctions are having an economic effect, but as yet no effect on Saddam Hussein's policies. This should have cleared up the semantic confusion about what it means for sanctions to "work." By the only test that counts—the test of the impact on Saddam's *policy*—they are not yet "working." And, for a combination of historical and current reasons, Webster could give no assurance that they would.

The reasons for doubt break down into six categories.


MacNelly Chicago Tribune
DON'T SEE 'TIL YOU FIRE THE EYES OF THEIR... NAH... OH, YOU KNOW... THE WHITES-OF-THEIR-EYES THING!...

1. *The historical legacy.* The historical assessment has been made, especially by Robin Renwick's excellent study a decade ago, that the economic weapon has usually been more successful at weakening a target country than at compelling a change of policy. The weakening can be significant, but as time passes the complexities of enforcement also test the will of the governments implementing sanctions.

2. *Economic leakage.* Since what holds the coalition imposing the sanctions together is the political will of governments, the analysis of whether they will work is political, not economic. The current motivation to continue sanctions against Iraq is unusually strong. But from past experience, allied staying power must be suspect. There are always companies and middlemen that are tempted to cheat; there are always temptations in foreign ministries to be less confrontational with an important Arab country. The motivation of governments today to resist these temptations is due partly, of course, to the strong UN mandate, partly to the vital free-world interests at stake in the Gulf, but at least partly also to their fear that something terrible may happen—or that *we* may do something terrible—if sanctions don't work. In 1986, it took our bombing of Libya to energize allied willingness to tighten controls over strategic trade with Libya. A serious question can be raised, therefore, whether the will of governments to enforce sanctions strictly will not flag if the fear of war fades.

3. *Political erosion.* Our apparent willingness to back sanctions fully, by force if necessary, is giving courage to our Arab friends, whose solidarity is crucial to our diplomatic strategy. Their defection would dissolve the international coalition, and any doubts about our commitment would immediately heighten their interest in ambiguous compromises with Saddam. Their susceptibility to such blandishments will be, in large measure, a function of their calculations about us.

Thus, the paradox of the interdependence of the economic and military instruments: if there is to be any chance of a successful *non*-military outcome of this crisis, it will be because of a genuine fear of military action. Anything that weakens this military pressure—any strategy of "settling in for the long haul"—runs a serious risk of subtracting from the credibility of the economic weapon.

4. *Pain and suffering.* The continuing rape and destruction of Kuwait means that the subject matter in dispute is being destroyed. The economic burden on

friends in the region—Turkey, Jordan, Egypt—also mounts. The passage of time thereby adds to the political pressures working against us.

5. *The climate in Saudi Arabia*—the climate both meteorological and political, that is. The calendar adds to the necessity of a decision on the military option before the summer's heat. Some will mutter about 1914 railway timetables, but the comparison is apt only if you think the difference between success and failure is of no significance in this case. As for Saudi internal vulnerability, it is odd that that argument is less heard now. In August the cautious folk were saying that a long-term U.S. troop presence in Saudi Arabia could be profoundly destabilizing; now the same folk say it is really no problem (since it's better than a war). The original insight was probably better.

6. *Congress*. Following a kind of political Heisenberg Principle, the December hearings did more than simply air the arguments; they had an effect on the viability of the options. If the President's strategy is to "use the threat of war to avoid a war," as Senator Mitchell had correctly (and sympathetically) once described it, then the open opposition to the President's use of the military option could only have weakened its credibility as a threat. The strong domestic opposition aired in the hearings must lead Saddam to doubt that he needs to yield right now, sanctions notwithstanding.

Moreover, after those hearings, what is the credibility of congressional promises that support for military action will be forthcoming after a year? The same excuses will be available then as now: that war will be costly, that Kuwait and Saudi Arabia aren't democratic enough, that our allies aren't doing enough. How plausible will the promise be in our Arab friends' calculations as they assess *now* whether they can count on us over the long term?

Thus, the crucial weakness of the sanctions option is not simply that it could unravel, but that the military option will no longer be available if sanctions are later found wanting. To anyone with a shred of human feeling it must seem a more attractive option than war. But more probably it is a formula for the collapse of the international effort against Saddam Hussein.

The President, alas, will not have the luxury of waiting much longer to find out which hypothesis is true. If he does go to war (and even if he wins), he will never be able to prove that sanctions would not have worked. If he follows his critics' advice to wait, and it turns out to be a geopolitical disaster, he will reap the whirlwind himself. He can't plead that "Congress made me do it."

That's how Presidents earn their pay, as JFK said during the Cuban Missile Crisis. That's why we owe this man our prayers, whatever he decides. He'll need them. □

Mr. Rodman, a former National Security Council official in the Reagan and Bush Administrations, is now a fellow at the Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute. The views expressed here are his own.

POLITICS

BENNETT'S SURPRISE

WILLIAM McGURN

IT'S NOT OFTEN that one man makes himself so felt by his absence as William Bennett has done. Less than a week after he withdrew his name from consideration as Republican National Committee chairman, the White House showed how much it will miss him. The first sign came on December 12, when the President awoke to the news that an assistant secretary of education, Michael Williams, had issued a directive banning all federally funded colleges from setting aside scholarships based exclusively on race. That may not seem all that remarkable for a Republican Administration whose platform pledged to "resist efforts to replace equal rights with discriminatory quota systems and preferential treatment." But it proved too much for George Bush, already uncomfortable with having been the first President to veto a civil-rights bill. The President was "very disturbed" by the Williams directive. He quickly reversed the decision.

"They botched it again," said one Senate Republican staffer. "The President thought it [the overriding of the Williams directive] would be read as 'Bush Reaffirms Support for Minority Rights.' Instead, everyone sees it as just one more Bush flip-flop."

This is exactly the kind of disaster Bennett's RNC appointment was supposed to prevent. Indeed, the day after he was named to the post, the former drug czar came out, guns ablazing, in defense of Jesse Helms's controversial campaign ad on reverse discrimination. Bennett said the ad was perfectly appropriate and that he welcomed debate on the subject, which is precisely what Democrats feared most. House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt even paid him a back-handed compliment by complaining that Bennett lent the anti-quota brigade intellectual legitimacy.

"You have at the Republican Party today a rhetorical and intellectual deficit," says Terry Eastland, co-author with Bennett of *Counting by Race*. "Bill Bennett could have filled that hole."

Well, maybe. No doubt Bennett is eminently qualified to articulate the Republican vision to the American people. The problem is, as the Williams fracas illustrates, the White House itself hasn't signed on to that vision. Fortunately for Bennett, by the time the Williams reversal hit the front pages he was no longer speaking for the Republican Party, thereby avoiding what his friends had feared: becoming a mouthpiece for an Administration adrift. Unfortunately for the party, his resignation means that he is no longer in place to prevent these flip-flops in the first place.

When Bennett announced his resignation, the speculation in Washington was that he'd been forced out by Chief of Staff John Sununu; it was well known that the two had had a heated disagreement over the tax issue at a private dinner. Yet while the Admin-

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Mr. McGurn is NR*'s Washington bureau chief.*

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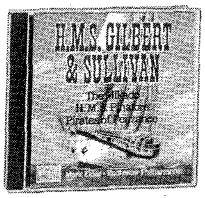

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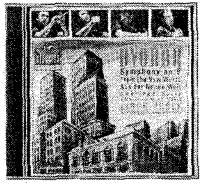

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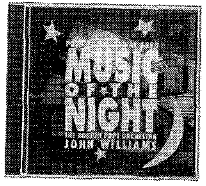

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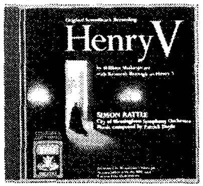

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WHY BUSH IS BUSH

WITH AMERICANS entering 1991 facing recession at home and war abroad, the prospects for the GOP are the grimmest since Watergate. After President Bush's "incredible blunder" in abandoning his no-new-taxes pledge, former budget director James C. Miller asks, "can he promise anything in the 1992 election without evoking giggles from the audience?" Indeed, politicos everywhere are still scratching their heads over why Bush sacrificed his credibility for the sake of raising taxes in a recession.

This view of Bush as the consummate incompetent politician misses the point. Bush's reversal on tax policy was fully supported by the Republican Establishment—politicians and big-businessmen alike—a group that is more skilled at manipulating the government than at competing in markets. Its members do not mind paying high taxes on the non-competitive profits (known to economists as "economic rents") that accrue from good relations with regulators and influential legislators. What they do mind is disturbing this comfortable network by opening up the system to competition. Although most of them are in the upper brackets, the Republican Establishment has never led the fight for tax cuts. It is anti-Gingrich, anti-Milken, anti-Kemp, and anti-Reagan—all in their different ways populists in word or deed whose activities made it possible for others to challenge the hegemony of established interests.

As Adam Smith recognized, the process of wealth creation, if left unrestricted, disturbs the seating arrangements at dinner parties and erodes perks that are regarded as lifelong personal property. By breaking down barriers to wealth creation and disturbing the ordered status quo, Reagan and Kemp appeal more strongly to the American people than to the old-line, country-club elements in the Republican Party. Reagan's overwhelming electoral victories came largely from Democratic and newly Republican voters, and HUD Secretary Kemp has found a natural constituency in people who want to transform themselves from welfare recipients to property owners.

The Kemp–Roth tax-rate-reduction bill, which became Reagan's 1981 Economic Recovery Tax Act, made it much easier for people who are not rich to get that way. Entrepreneurs prospered, and the ranks of the rich swelled. Together with the 1986 tax-reform bill, the impetus of Reagan's tax policy was to force wealth out of shelters and into economic competition—where it does more good, but where it is at risk.

The GOP Establishment thus regards Reaganism as a threat that must be met by painting Reaganomics as unsuccessful and reversing it. The reversal began when the GOP Establishment made the 1981 tax cut a partisan issue, increasing the chances of its eventual repeal.

People have forgotten that, despite Jack Kemp's brilliant rhetorical leadership, it was influential Democratic senators who gave supply-side economics its political credibility. The Joint Economic Committee of Congress, led by Senator Lloyd Bentsen (D., Tex.), urged the adoption of a supply-side tax cut in its annual report in 1979 and 1980. To escape from the Treasury's trap of static revenue analysis, the Senate Finance Committee, led by Senator Russell Long (D., La.), financed a supply-side model and reported out of committee a supply-side tax cut during the 1980 presidential campaign. Senator Sam Nunn's amendment to the 1978 tax bill combined the Kemp–Roth tax cut with limits on the growth of spending. It passed the Senate overwhelmingly, but was killed in conference by the Carter Administration. Except for their presidential candidates, the Democrats were ready for a supply-side approach before Reagan was elected.

As assistant secretary of the Treasury in 1981, I was worried by the decision to cut the Democrats out of the 1981 tax bill in order to give Reagan a partisan victory. Just how gratuitous this decision was became abundantly clear when House Speaker Tip O'Neill responded by forging a rival supply-side tax cut that was in some respects superior to the Administration's. The Democrats, for example, offered to let business expense investment by permitting it to be written off the year it was made. Until the last days of the contest, when the Administration finally overcame its resistance to tax indexing, there was no way Reagan could differentiate his bill from the Democrats' bill in terms that the public could understand. Both were large supply-side tax cuts.

It was obvious to me, and it had to be obvious to White House Chief of Staff James Baker and his circle, that giving the congressional party no stake in the success of the new policy was hardly the way to ensure its permanence.

ONCE WE understand that the Republican Establishment stands for a closed system run by its members along the lines of the French cooperation between government and business that has turned that country into a cartel, it becomes easy to understand many otherwise puzzling events—such as Richard Darman's gratuitous attack on James Pinkerton. Darman chose an audience of bureaucrats to ridicule Pinkerton for having ideas. The GOP Establishment is perennially hostile to ideas, because in their absence vested interests rule.

The major economic debate these days is in the Democratic Party, where some favor economic growth because it generates opportunities and others emphasize income redistribution, which by helping to keep the economy down favors the status quo. Unlike a decade ago, the redistributionists currently have the upper hand among the Democrats, because redistribution is seen as anti-Reagan. But if Reagan is seen as a pro-opportunity policy-maker, he is an anti-establishment figure. It is ironic that the GOP Establishment has hoodwinked the Democrats into helping to preserve the economy for rent-seekers. —PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

Mr. Roberts, who was assistant secretary of the Treasury for economic policy in 1981-82, currently holds the William E. Simon chair at the Center for Strategy and International Studies.

istration's Gestapo tactics with conservative Republicans gave Bennett no incentive to stay, the real reason he left seems to be just what he said it was in his resignation letter. That is, he was inviting legal trouble if he earned money from speeches while serving as RNC chief. There was also the matter of a six-figure advance from Simon & Schuster, who wanted either a book produced or the money returned, now.

Not surprisingly, Beltway types are consumed by the money angle ("Does he really get the $40,000 per speech reported by Evans & Novak?"). Already the pundits have pronounced him politically dead—one top-ranking GOP official said his wife, watching Bennett explain his resignation on TV, turned around and said simply, "Greed"—but that is unlikely. Ronald Reagan, after all, spent the better part of the years after losing the nomination to Gerald Ford speaking his mind, raking in the money, and positioning himself for the 1980 primaries.

The real loss is not Bennett's but Bush's. True enough, even Bennett could not have singlehandedly rescued the Administration from disaster. He would have found it hard to resolve the contradictions of a President who adheres to the same quotas he professes to abhor; it is no coincidence that former Secretary of Education Lauro Cavazos was not dumped until the President had brought another Hispanic, Bob Martinez, aboard as drug czar. Bush's problem is not so much that he comes down on the wrong side of an issue as that he comes down on *both* sides of an issue.

As RNC chief, Bennett could not have always kept Bush on course, but he would at least have acted as a sturdy rudder. During his short tenure, for example, Bennett pushed hard for disavowing the budget package and coming out of the box in 1991 with a White House tax-cut proposal, which in effect would mean admitting that Darman and Sununu made a big mistake. Bennett lost, and sources say it is largely because the White House believed that if it didn't bring up taxes, neither would the Democrats. In fact, the Democrats are happily planning to introduce a proposal for a surtax on millionaires now that the new Congress has convened.

"I agree with the Tom Wolfe formulation that the Nineties will be the decade of culture and values," says Bennett. "We need a full debate on the only hard issues that are left—everything from welfare, race, and pornography, to art, religion, and children—and these are the things that I intend to speak on in the coming year." What a pity that he has to do it solo. □

LETTER FROM POLAND

A NEW BEGINNING?

RADEK SIKORSKI

IMAGINE that Germany has won the Battle of Britain, and that Britain has fallen under Nazi occupation. The British government and the royal family escape to Canada and continue defiance. But the Germans install a quisling government which gradually puts down roots. With every passing year the influence and authority of the exile institutions diminish. After years of enforced silence in Britain even the memory of their existence all but disappears.

Then imagine that after years of humiliation and ridicule, the government and the royal family return to Buckingham Palace and are greeted by jubilant crowds. At a solemn ceremony the aged Queen hands over the insignia of office to the legitimate authorities of her liberated country.

What was only an imaginary scenario for Britain came to pass last month in Poland, when Mr. Ryszard Kaczorowski, president of the London-based government-in-exile, returned to his country after a half-century's absence and bestowed the insignia of office upon its first freely elected president since the war.

At the Royal Castle in Warsaw, destroyed by the Germans and rebuilt only a few years ago, Mr. Kaczorowski handed over the seals and the banner of the pre-war Republic to the freshly sworn-in Lech Walesa. General Jaruzelski, not invited to the ceremony, could only sit at home and watch the proceedings on television. For once, historical justice has been done. For Poland, December 22, 1990, marks the end of the Second World War.

Some will criticize such symbolism as meaningless nostalgia or even harmful fantasizing. After all, pre-war Eastern European regimes were hardly paragons of tolerance and democracy. Marshal Josef Pilsudski, today's hero (and the man who framed the 1935 Constitution under which the London government continued to exist), killed several times more people in his 1926 coup than the hated Jaruzelski did under martial law.

The point about exiles such as President Kaczorowski, King Michael of Rumania, or (perhaps one day soon) one of the Romanovs is that whatever the moral probity of their fallen regimes, they represent something authentic in each nation's history. They are the antithesis of Communist rootlessness. In parts of the world where whole nations have been exterminated, resettled, or bastardized, where borders, social structures, and even the landscape have been changed at whim, organic continuity is a rare commodity. The returning émigrés have vast power, potentially for the good, power to create at least the illusion of historical continuity with a pre-Communist past and thus heal the historical wound.

For Poland "bad times are over," as Lech Walesa put it in his inaugural speech, but good times have not arrived. Above all, the memory of the two weeks following the first round of the presidential race, in which the sitting prime minister, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, was defeated by the obscure Mr. Stanislaw Tyminski, will haunt Poles for years. Those who were in Warsaw at the time know what it must have felt like to live in Weimar Germany or in Russia in 1917.

One day, the country seemed on the right course, slowly, laboriously reforming itself out of "utopia" and into the real world. Then, out of the blue, a diffident little man in a suit, smiling

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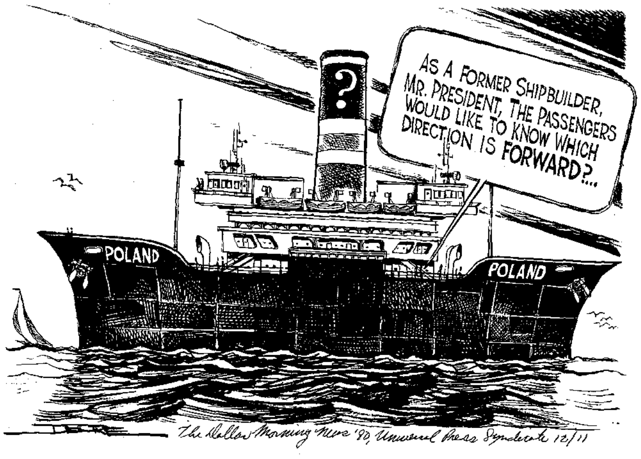
Mr. Sikorski is NR*'s roving correspondent.*

eerily, emerged from the Peruvian jungle and promised "to make America in Poland within a month of taking office." To a Polish peasant, the American dream is powerful. America is where his neighbor went three summers back and after only six months as a bricklayer in Chicago returned with enough money to buy a farm and a foreign car. "America" is the name of a town where a commune of peasants settled on returning from a similar venture across the ocean a century earlier. In America everybody drives a Cadillac, streets are paved with gold, women are blonde, slim, and healthy, and everyone has a house like J. R. Ewing. (As in South African townships, *Dallas* has been favorite viewing here for years.)

Millions cast their lot with Tyminski. The government resigned; the Solidarity establishment panicked. It seemed that command over the armed forces might pass into the hands of a man who talked about giving the Polish army a hundred one-megaton bombs fitted onto cruise missiles. Nobody had the slightest idea what the crazy little fellow might do if given the constitutional power to declare a state of emergency. For the post of prime minister, he calmly announced, ads would be placed in the newspapers to search for the best candidate.

Tyminski lost, but not without exposing the shallowness of the roots of democracy in the East. Fortunately, Poland had a credible democratic alternative: Walesa. What will happen in countries where opposition politicians of a similar stature do not exist? I predict that in Russia, where the ignorance of how wealth is created is greater than in Poland and men of legitimate authority are even thinner on the ground, the likes of Tyminski—Rasputins of the 1990s—will have huge opportunities for mischief.

The lesson of Tyminski's success is not that people are stupid, though many are, but that most in the newly free East view democracy only as a means to an end. If democracy can deliver apartments, cars, and sausages—America, that is—so be it. But the mandate is only conditional and temporary. Democracy must prove that it is superior to dictatorship, and prove it quickly: a tall order.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AS A FORMER SHIPBUILDER, MR. PRESIDENT, THE PASSENGERS WOULD LIKE TO KNOW WHICH DIRECTION IS FORWARD?...
POLAND
POLAND
The Dallas Morning News '90, Universal Press Syndicate 12/11

Will Polish democracy survive this year? Will Walesa convince people that it is perfectly natural for them to lose their jobs, for their rents to quadruple, or for their energy bills to go up sevenfold? For the moment, Walesa has the credibility to explain that this is a delayed bill for Communist rule, but how long will his credibility last?

It used to be fashionable to speculate whether Walesa would be satisfied with being a German-style ceremonial president or push for greater powers like President Mitterrand. The cat is out of the bag now. Walesa has created a presidential council designed eventually to oversee the work of ministries formally reporting to the prime minister. His spokesman has confirmed that Walesa is seeking to institute an American-style presidency.

Walesa's intellectual opponents are already crying dictatorship. He is indeed wielding huge power, only loosely legitimized by law. But a strong presidency is Poland's only hope. It is almost a foregone conclusion that the Polish parliament—two-thirds Communist nominated—will force through a proportional system of electing future MPs. This is the only way in which some of them might survive. Proportional representation of Poland's weak, inexperienced, and bickering parties cannot but lead to a fractious, unstable parliament. Only a strong president can ensure political order.

Walesa must not forget that what caused Mazowiecki's failure and his own election was people's impatience with the pace of reform. As he himself has stressed so many times, Poland needs clean, tough, speedy changes. Walesa is the last chance of Polish democracy. If he does not succeed in making reform felt in most Polish households, nobody can. □

ARMAND HAMMER, R I P

LENIN'S BUSINESSMAN

GEORGE SZAMUELY

THE DEATH of Armand Hammer last month was marked by unrestrained encomia. In addition to a full-page obituary, the *New York Times* published an editorial that lauded the multi-millionaire's "keen eye for art," his "bold business sense," his "restless intelligence and prodigious energy." The editorial went on to praise his "tireless efforts to improve relations between the United States and the Soviet Union." Somewhat bafflingly, the piece concluded with the tribute that Hammer was "probably the only American who could have told Mr. Gorbachev what Lenin was really like." Quite why Mr. Gorbachev would particularly want an *American* to tell him "what Lenin was really like" was left unclear.

In the obituary itself the writer was forced to record that Hammer "expressed views of the Soviet Union that coming from an American millionaire seemed strikingly uncritical." The obituary made due mention of Hammer's having "long sought peace between the United States and the Soviet Union." But this was coupled with his having "financed research for a cancer cure."

To be fair to the *Times*, it was not the first to propound the notion that

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Mr. Szamuely is a freelance writer living in New York.

Armand Hammer's political preoccupations flowed from his philanthropic nature. Few men have devoted as much time to their own personal PR as Armand Hammer did during the 92 years of his life. For decades, Hammer cultivated the great and the good, and especially White House incumbents, showering them with letters of advice, with works of art, with cash campaign contributions. He did not discriminate between Republicans and Democrats. He donated $54,000 to Richard Nixon's 1972 re-election campaign (illegally, as it happened, for which he was convicted, sentenced to one year of probation, but then pardoned by George Bush in 1989). Yet in 1976 he turned out to be an early supporter of Jimmy Carter. Though supporting Carter's re-election in 1980, he was also on record describing Ronald Reagan as "a neighbor and a good friend." And despite the Reagan Administration's initial wariness, by 1982 he had ingratiated himself sufficiently to get appointed chairman of the President's Cancer Panel.

WHETHER he was warning the Senate of the perilous consequences of not ratifying the SALT II treaty, or putting about the idea in 1980 that the Soviet Union intended to withdraw from Afghanistan in the very near future, or popping up mysteriously to organize the release of Americans held in Moscow on trumped-up spying charges (such as F. Jay Crawford in 1978, or Nicholas Daniloff in 1986), and thereby on each occasion setting the stage for a superpower summit, Hammer would invariably explain that what motivated him was the belief that "nuclear war must be avoided." Yet his intimate involvement with the Soviet Union long predated nuclear weapons. Moreover, most of the huge amount of money he made was through commercial transactions with governments which had devoted considerable resources to attempting to destroy the West. In short, the role Armand Hammer has played in American public life has been uncannily like the one envisioned for him by Lenin back in 1921.

During Hammer's first visit to the Soviet Union in that year, Lenin was anxious for him to sign a contract with the newly established, but troubled, Soviet regime, and then advertise it in America. Lenin wrote that Hammer should be offered a concession, "even if a fictitious one, of asbestos or any other Ural valuables or whatever you will. What we want to show and have in print . . . is that the Americans have gone in for concessions." Lenin then wrote to Stalin telling him that the Hammer concession was "a small path leading to the American business world, and it should be used in every possible way." And it *was* used in every possible way. By the spring of 1923 Hammer's company, Allied American, was the exclusive representative of some 36 American companies doing business with the Soviet Union. Hammer spent a lot of time traveling around the U.S. urging businesses to invest capital and transfer technology to the Soviet Union. Joining him was his father, Julius, one of the founders of the American Communist Party.

Though Armand Hammer has claimed that he had exclusive control of Allied American, it subsequently emerged that the Soviet government selected and appointed two directors, that it had the right to establish the price of its exports, and that it was closely involved in the company's operations. In 1924 Hammer bought a bank in Reval, Estonia, ostensibly to handle trade matters in the Soviet Union. Yet a State Department report at the time argued that Hammer could not have had sufficient funds to finance the undertaking and that "the Moscow authorities might have advanced part or all of the funds to purchase the bank to obtain a means of transferring funds abroad surreptitiously if desired."

Throughout the 1920s, when in Moscow, the Hammers occupied the Brown House, a palatial mansion with some thirty rooms. As the NEP was being brought to an end and foreign concessions were expropriated, Hammer's pencil factory in Moscow continued to be permitted to export its profits. Not until 1930 did the Soviet government buy out his concern. Though in later years Hammer talked of how one could not do business with Stalin, writing in 1932, he explained the Soviet decision as arising from his own inability to raise capital in the West for a Russian venture.

Yet Hammer must have continued to do business with Stalin's Russia. He had been allowed to take an enormous number of works of art out of the Soviet Union to sell. Many of these came from private collections that the Bolsheviks had seized. During the 1930s he continued to import artworks from the Soviet Union and sell them off. From the proceeds Hammer went on to establish a beer-barrel factory that imported all its wood from the Soviet Union.

IN 1956 Hammer took over Occidental Petroleum, a nearly bankrupt company that had not recovered much by the time Hammer met Khrushchev in 1961 in Moscow. The Soviet leader explained that what the Soviets really needed was phosphorous-based fertilizers. This was to prove a useful piece of advice. On returning to the United States Hammer began to buy up companies that would turn him into a major fertilizer manufacturer, and in 1965 Occidental made a bid for one of the most sought-after oil concessions in Libya's Sirte Basin. To everyone's amazement, Occidental defeated the oil majors and won the concession. Within two years, Occidental was pumping 800,000 barrels of oil a day out of Libya.

The rise of Qaddafi threatened the oil companies, particularly when, in 1973, he demanded 51 per cent ownership of their local assets. Till then oil companies had refused to allow any country more than 49 per cent. Hammer broke the common front and accepted the deal. Oddly enough, he happened to be in Moscow when he made the announcement. Hammer's move led to the craven collapse of the other oil companies, the strengthening of OPEC, and the oil-price hike later that year.

In 1974 Hammer was finally able to sign a $20-billion fertilizer agreement with the Soviets. What was more important was that he had persuaded the Nixon Administration to get the Export–Import Bank to grant a $180-million credit. Hammer went on to sign deal after deal with the Soviet Union, including plans to build an international trade center in Moscow, to build hotels, to mint coins for the Olympic Games, and so on. By no means all of these came to anything. But that was not really the point, as Lenin had explained. Hammer was leading the way. Perhaps the *Times* got it right. Perhaps Hammer could and did tell Mr. Gorbachev "what Lenin was really like." □

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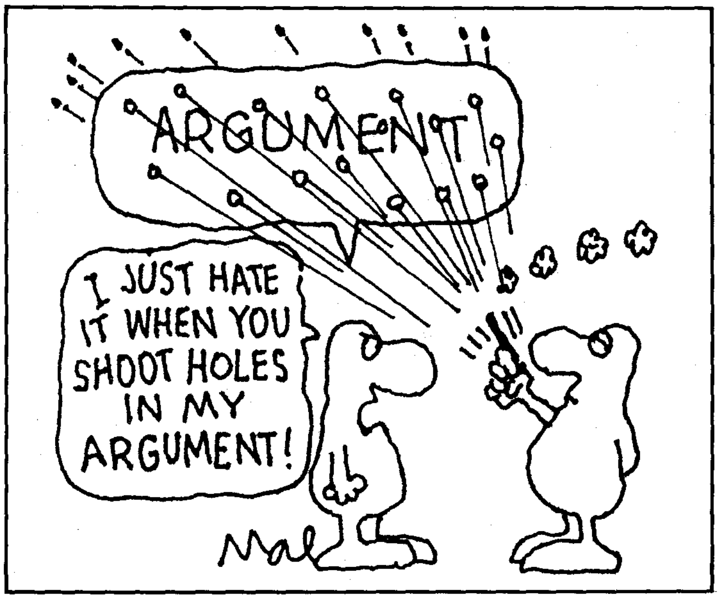
ARGUMENT
I JUST HATE IT WHEN YOU SHOOT HOLES IN MY ARGUMENT!
Mal

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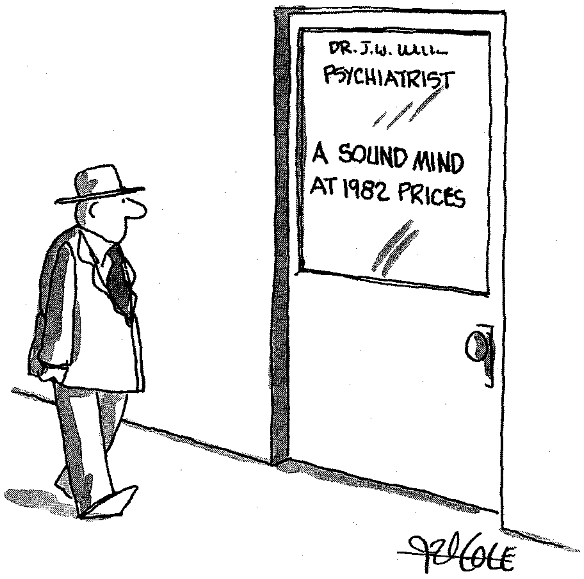
Glimericks

A snob from a family well-lined
Objected to oils lately mined,
    Because he drew keen
    Distinctions between
Commodities crude and refined.

GLORIA MAXSON


DR. J.W.
PSYCHIATRIST
A SOUND MIND AT 1982 PRICES
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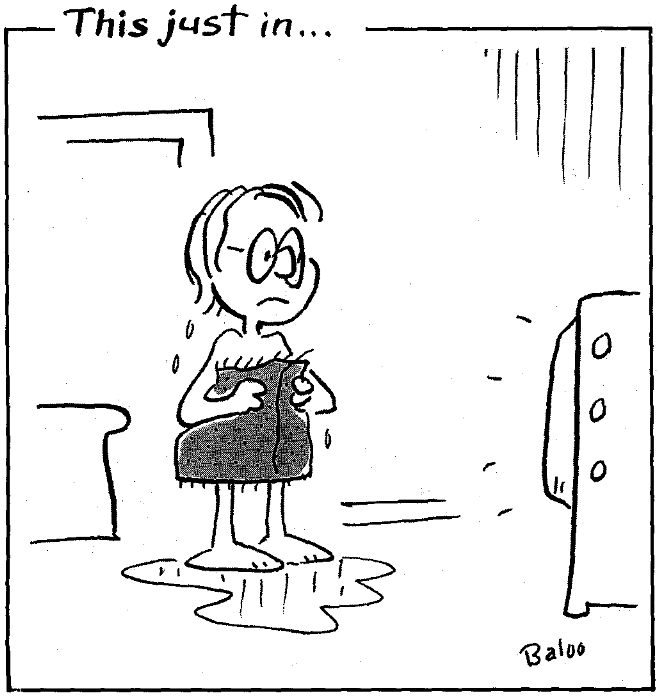
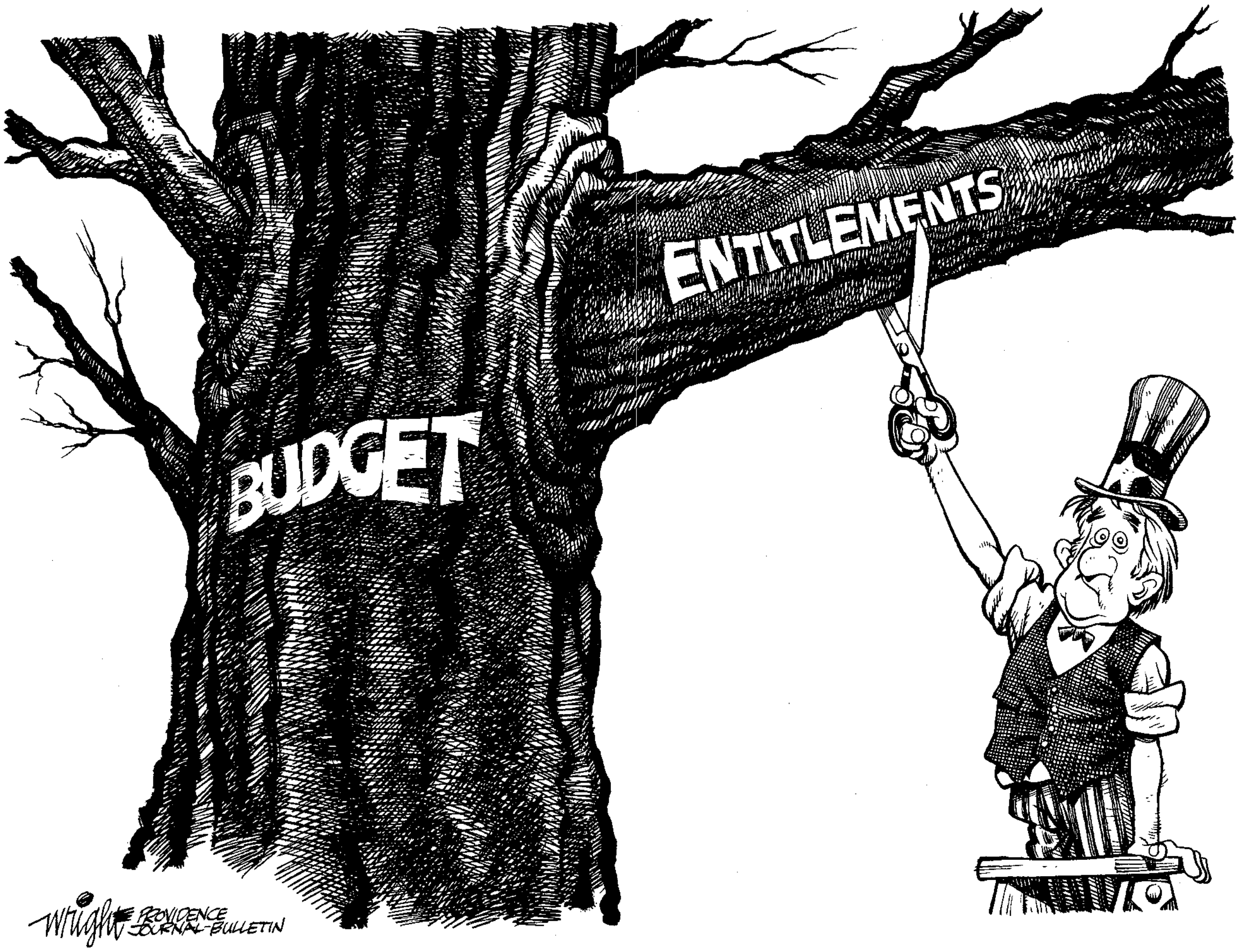

This just in...
Baloo

"The government announced today that we're fresh out of economic indicators."


ENTITLEMENTS
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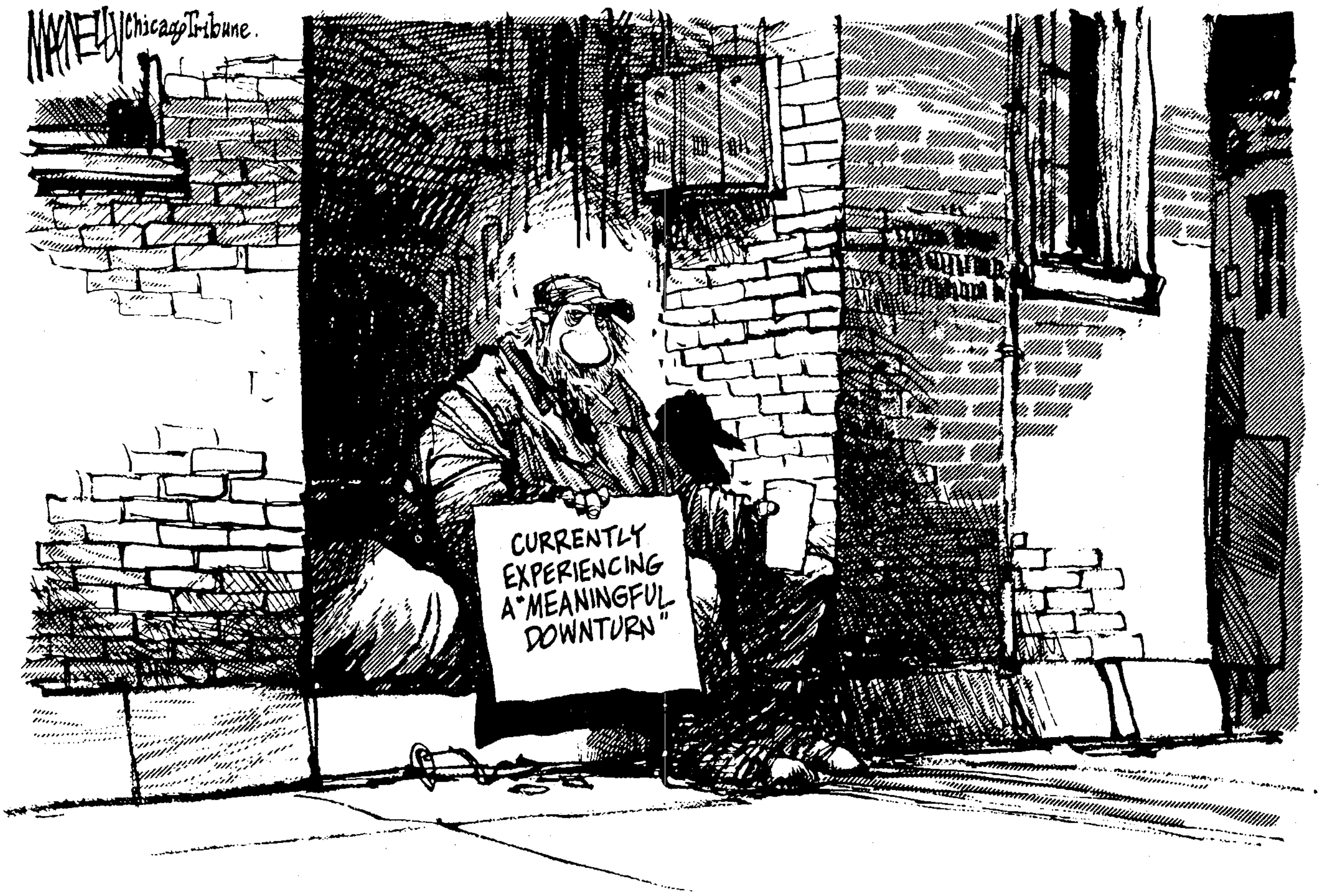

MacNelly Chicago Tribune.
CURRENTLY EXPERIENCING A "MEANINGFUL DOWNTURN"

BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

The Truth about Us

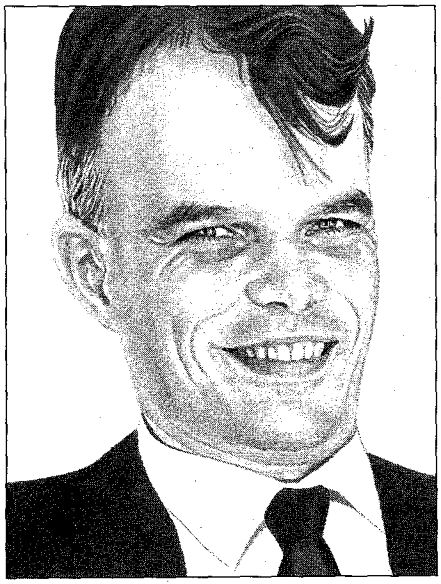
LAWRENCE AUSTER

AMERICAN CULTURE may be in serious trouble, but how can we save that culture if we don't even know what it is? According to Richard Brookhiser, all the usual theories that purport to explain the American idea are inadequate. Liberal democracy based on the Enlightenment is too abstract; there are other democracies, but they're not like us. Similarly, the frontier theory (immigrants mixing in wide open spaces made us) fails to account for the different character of other countries that also had immigrants and large frontiers. Nor is the American a mere *Homo economicus*, generic, universal man. The American's nature, Brookhiser declares, "is more particular than a theory or a circumstance. It has a local habitation and a name. And that is, that he was once a WASP. To miss this is to get everything else wrong."

In *The Way of the WASP*, Brookhiser gives fresh and affirmative meaning to a word normally used as a sign of disdain for America's oldest group—and for America itself. As an *ethnic* identification, he shows, WASP properly denotes not just the notoriously restrained upper class, but all white Americans of Anglo-Saxon Protestant descent (about a quarter of the U.S. population). More significantly, as a *cultural* designation, WASP refers to all Americans who have adopted "the way of the WASP," the basic outlines of which were established in early America. "The WASP character is the American character," Brookhiser writes. "It is the mold, the template, the archetype, the set of axes along which the crystal has grown. Without the WASP it would be another country altogether. Without the continuing influence of his values, it is sure to lose its way."

The Way of the WASP: How It Made America, and How It Can Save It, So to Speak, by Richard Brookhiser (The Free Press, 164 pp., $19.95)

Of course, both intellectual and popular cultures have long derided the WASP as a cold, repressed automaton who had imposed himself as a model on the whole nation—an attack that reached its manic height in the effusions of Norman Mailer: "The Protestant is the historical embodiment of the great will which deadened the flesh." But the criticism of WASPs as a group, says Brookhiser, is only a symptom of a deeper ill. "For decades—for a century, in some cases—Americans have been turning away from WASP ways of thinking and behaving, with disastrous results. . . . Hip-deep in blessings that the rest of the world covets, they have thrown them away with both hands."



Bonnie Gardner

While he views this loss of faith as a catastrophe for our culture, it is not Brookhiser's style to run through the marketplace like Nietzsche's madman, crying out that God is dead and that we have killed Him; nor does he follow the hard path of the Straussians to philosophical salvation, though he draws on some of their insights. His approach is common-sensical and witty, ranging amiably from George Bush's election to the novels of John Updike to an obscure Methodist enclave on the New Jersey shore. He describes Michael Dukakis as a "man from a strange and distant land. Not Greece, of course, but Brookline, Massachusetts." Speaking of WASP–Irish similarities, he notes that the Irish were "familiar with the English half of Anglo-American liberties, even if only by being deprived of them." But this chatty irreverence is only a front, a scaffolding for Brookhiser's deeper purpose, which is to call America back to its true self.

"The way of the WASP" consists of six closely related values or character traits—conscience, civic-mindedness, industry, success, use, and anti-sensuality. The most important is conscience—"the great legacy of Protestantism." Conscience is not the modernist way of paradox and ambiguity; "it is the inner light that shows us self-evident truths . . . the source of whatever freedoms WASP society enjoys." Civic-mindedness is the "operation of conscience in social relations." Honor, family, group take a back seat to the good of society. Conscience mandates—and civic-mindedness sanctions—industry, which results in success. By "use," Brookhiser means asking what things are good *for*, a kind of practical Aristotelianism. Finally, the WASP suspicion of sensual pleasure is not a morbid turning away from the body, but an application of the test of use: sport, food, even art, are valued because they're "good for you." It is the only WASP trait he seems to regret: "The Chinese work hard; so do the Italians. Yet they both know how to cook."

In his account of the degeneration of this pattern of useful virtues into an opposite set of vices, Brookhiser illuminates our current disorder. Conscience, the monitor of the self, has given way to the untrammeled self, along with the attendant liberationisms; lower-class welfare mothers and upper-class S&L con artists are

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Mr. Auster is the author of The Path to National Suicide: An Essay on Immigration and Multiculturalism.

equally products of a culture that has thrown away the constraints of conscience. Instead of industry rewarded by success, we have ambition striving for gratification. Civic-mindedness has been displaced by the group-mindedness that now dominates our politics, while the objective test of use (which implies a moral standard derived from nature) has given way to diffidence: "[Things] are, therefore we defer to them"—a neat characterization of America's timorous response to every minority demand.

Ironically, it was WASPs themselves, not today's cultural radicals, who first undermined the WASP ethos. The first culprit was Emerson, who in viewing the self as totally autonomous, even divine, devalued conscience. "Seeing with inner light," Brookhiser notes with typical panache, "is very different from generating it." Then there was Progressivism (exemplified by Woodrow Wilson), which changed men's notions of the good. "Progress was not progress toward anything definite . . . It was going with the flow, waiting in the baggage-claim area of history to see what rumbled up the belt next." The Progressive approach to history meant that all claims were equally deserving of respect—including the claims of all groups. As a result, "civic-mindedness sank soon after conscience." Even the Protestant churches betrayed the way of the WASP. First, nineteenth-century Biblical scholarship undermined the Bible as a source of revelation; then the social gospel split liberals from traditionalists. Protestantism's unity of ethical belief—and thus its normative function in American society—has unraveled.

Brookhiser's recommendations add up to a call for counter-revolution: make war on group-mindedness; reject the Progressivist paradigm (which Reagan failed to do); return to the concept of human nature and a politics deduced from that nature. Lastly, encourage open debate in the Protestant churches. In a real debate, errors will be exposed, and "a restored cultural amalgam will emerge."

In sum, *The Way of the WASP* is a devastating refutation of the "all-cultures-are-equal" pieties. Yet, as invaluable as his ideas are, I fear that Brookhiser has skipped over an important dimension of the cultural debate. Focused as he is on America's own (potentially reversible) spiritual foibles, he ignores the *irreversible* impact on American culture of our open-borders policy. Like many conservatives today, he believes that while group-think (a/k/a multiculturalism) is bad, unlimited immigration is wonderful; the implication is that if we restore the WASP civic-mindedness which encourages assimilation, we will be able over the coming century to absorb scores of millions of Latin Americans, Asians, Middle Easterners, and Africans with no loss to America's Anglo-form cultural heritage. But that's hardly a unanimous view—least of all among the immigrants themselves. Novelist Bharati Mukherjee, a moderate who opposes multiculturalism and supports cultural "fusion," speaks of Asian-Americans as "We, the new pioneers who are thinking of America as still a frontier country . . . Letting go of the old notions of what America was shouldn't be seen as a loss." Now, if ongoing mass immigration and cultural fusion mean "letting go" of America's historical identity and cultural heritage, what happens to the way of the WASP, which—the author himself would acknowledge—has its historical and imaginative roots in that heritage? Richard Brookhiser is not the only conservative who has thus far failed to ask, or answer, that question. ☐

War and the New World Order

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

THE "OVERARCHING strategic question" for the United States, Colin S. Gray says in this expert and important book, remains: "If deterrence failed, how could the United States wage, and presumably try to win, World War III against the USSR? What should the strategy be? If strategy is thought of as the bridge between military means and political ends, what does it, or should it, look like for a major war? . . . Readers may be astonished to learn that relatively very few defense professionals, inside or outside of government, have ever been asked and required to answer this non-trivial question."

War, Peace, and Victory, by Colin S. Gray (Simon & Schuster, 442 pp., $24.95)

Elsewhere Gray—who is chairman of the National Institute for Public Policy and for many years a government advisor on military strategy—notes: "The cold war wanes, but the challenge to strategy becomes more severe." What has passed for grand strategy is the reliance on mutual assured destruction (MAD)—though every Soviet military textbook enunciated the conviction of the USSR's strategists that they could strike first, sustain retaliation, and go on to victory. The other element of our "strategy" was "arms control," which, as Gray points out, was used by the Soviets for their own military and political advantage, and behind which they built up the most powerful conventional forces ever on the continent of Europe. NATO would have been unable to hold back the Soviets in conventional warfare without U.S. nuclear intervention.

Drawing extensively on historical examples from Greek and Roman times to the present, Gray demonstrates that national policy and military strategy have been more important in determining victory or defeat than firepower. He then thoroughly explores the strategic doctrines of Clausewitz and Mahan in the light of contemporary history, but more importantly in the context of American culture and psychology. As he writes, "The character of U.S. national military strategy and the scale of its military instruments . . . are at least as much a function of the nature of the United States as they are of the threat perceived in the external world." Had our policy-makers had the mindset of Bismarck, we would have nuked the USSR in the early stages of the cold war when we alone had the bomb. The core of American strategic thinking should have been in the understanding of land power versus sea power. "With only the rarest of exceptions,

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Mr. Toledano, a longtime NR *contributor, is a syndicated columnist and author of 19 books.*

Janet Hamlin

and none of these in modern times, every country has a principal environmental orientation to its security concerns, either maritime or continental," says Gray. "The terms of the political, economic, and military character of the Soviet-American antagonism are dominated by the geography—or strictly by the geopolitics—of the relationship. The geostrategic nature of the relationship of conflict is between a superstate which is a continental empire [the USSR] and a superstate which heads a maritime alliance [the U.S.]." It is Gray's contention that though dominant sea power does not guarantee victory over a land power, it can deny victory to a land aggressor.

The difficulty for those following Gray's thinking and the geostrategy he develops is that they deal almost exclusively with the problems of a U.S.-Soviet confrontation—presumably much of *War, Peace, and Victory* was written before the total collapse of the Soviet Union's external empire. He does take into account some of the changes being forced on President Gorbachev, wisely warning that unless the Soviet Union becomes a vast continental Switzerland, the Kremlin and the Red Army, buttressed by the KGB, remain a serious and sometimes imponderable threat to the West. But as the current crisis in the Middle East demonstrates, American strategic thinking and concepts must go far beyond the possibility of World War III and also focus strongly on the problems which as a maritime superpower the United States will encounter.

The alliances, tacit or formal, which will take shape in the coming years demand new strategic thinking. Of primary importance is a reunified Germany. For Germany, the *Drang nach Osten* was far more than a slogan—and if one reads the correspondence between Kaiser Wilhelm and Czar Nicholas II, the realization is inescapable that they were more than blood cousins. The ties between Germany and Russia were cut twice—by World War I and by Hitler's invasion of his loyal ally's Soviet Union. But we have forgotten that during the Weimar Republic period, German soldiers were being trained on Russian soil by the Red Army; that Hitler's Nazis and Stalin's Communists linked arms during the great Berlin transport strike; that under the Nazis, the two countries moved steadily toward the Hitler-Stalin friendship pact. The links between these countries are geopolitical and historical. As a unified Germany moves to bring Russia to its feet and into its orbit, it is also succumbing to a geopolitical magnetism and beginning the formation of a great new power nucleus.

What remains of NATO will form another nucleus, which will eventually reject the United States. The U.S. is already moving to create a common market with Canada and Mexico, and where Great Britain will wind up in this new order is a matter for serious conjecture. A strategic "understanding" between Japan and Mainland China is already in the making, and it will eventually create a Pacific concentration challenging the United States. Our wishful hope, and the basis of whatever strategic thinking may exist, of a European Community balancing the Soviet Union would therefore seem vain.

Gray's postulates remain valid, but his theorems will involve different variables, and the *QED* will be entirely different. The geopolitics of two military superpowers is vanishing and an era of economic confrontation is emerging. Simultaneously, America will be challenged far from her shores. It is at this point that Colin Gray's assertion that we have no grand strategy stares at us unblinkingly. Congress underscores that assertion by seeking to castrate U.S. sea and air power while clutching to its collective bosom land forces which are of no avail in the Persian Gulf, the Horn of Africa, or the Southwest Pacific. *War, Peace, and Victory*, though principally concerned with the Soviet threat, lays out the principles. ☐

Recalling Venice

FRANCIS X. ROCCA

AMERICANS do not remember much about John Ruskin, although once he was nearly as influential here as in his own country. Today his reputation is a ruin, a ruin more dilapidated than the monuments of Venice which he strove vainly to preserve. Yet unlike those structures, his memory has not been disfigured by "restoration," and his thought has not been scavenged for parts to adorn newer theoretical edifices.

If we remember Ruskin at all, it is as a stereotype of his heavily stereotyped era. He was, in fact, an exact contemporary of its eponymous queen. And for Wolfgang Kemp, Ruskin's achievement was the efflorescence of Victorian genius, and his demise the consequence of Victorian corruption.

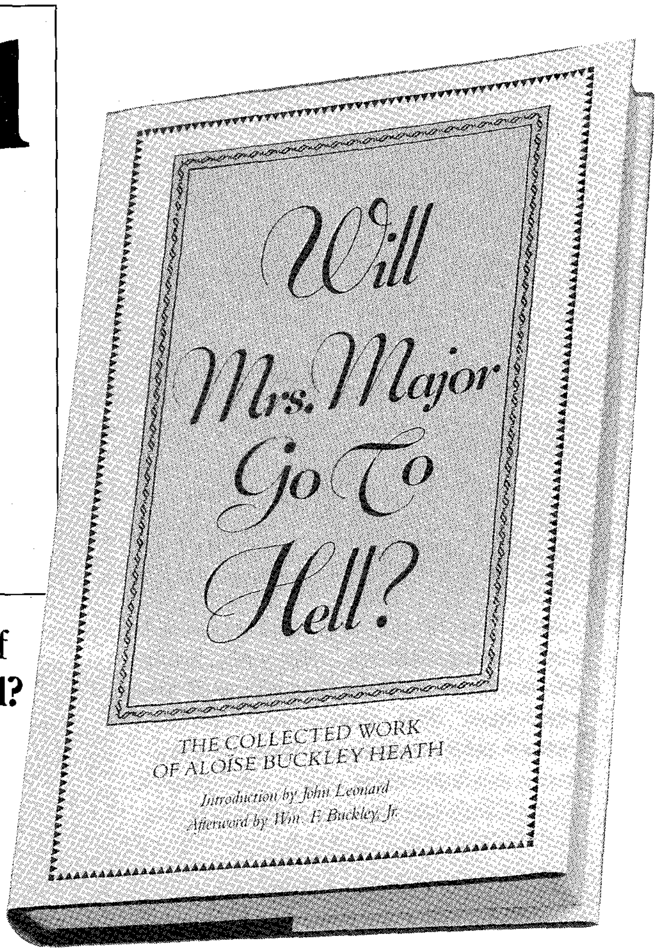
What sort of achievement? Ruskin

The Desire of My Eyes: The Life and Work of John Ruskin, by Wolfgang Kemp (Farrar, 544 pp., $35)

Ruskin on Turner, edited by Dinah Birch (Little, Brown, 144 pp., 54 color illustrations, $50)

Mr. Rocca is a regular contributor to The American Spectator.

You won't find this book in your local bookstore...


Will Mrs. Major Go To Hell?
THE COLLECTED WORK OF ALOÏSE BUCKLEY HEATH
Introduction by John Leonard
Afterword by Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

...but you can get the brand-new updated edition of Aloïse Buckley Heath's **Will Mrs. Major Go to Hell?** directly from *National Review* for just $16.95.

> Here is what the "Book-of-the-Month Club News" said about **Will Mrs. Major Go to Hell?** when it was first published:
>
> "It may be the warmest, funniest book about suburban family life since *Please Don't Eat the Daisies*, and it suggests that a true talent was lost when Mrs. Heath died at the untimely age of 48. She was one of ten children and had ten of her own, which helps explain why she was busy. The picture she gives of the way her family lived is both touching and hilarious, and she also casts a wry glance at the social scene in such pieces as one entitled 'Ladies Month in the Slicks,' wherein she notes, regarding the suggestion that harried housewives be given a paid-up charm course for Christmas, 'This gift had better be limited to harried housewives you know very well indeed.'"

...and we honestly can't remember when we've seen a more tender, poignant collection of stories. The late Aloïse Buckley Heath (William F. Buckley Jr.'s sister) wrote some absolutely priceless things about her own family, and the early days of *National Review*, plus some marvelously funny satirical observations on our contemporary habits and institutions.

There is something in this book to please every member of your family. You'll meet all the Heath children and encounter with them such American institutions as the New Math and the episode of the riotous carpool.

Don't miss her wonderfully entertaining views on soap operas or her recollections as an inadvertent fund-raiser (successful and highly unorthodox) for Smith College. Her Christmas stories are authentic classics, especially the Heaths' version of a Trapp Family Christmas.

And don't miss her "Baby in the Bathroom," "A Letter for Maureen" or "Politics and Mortal Sin." **Will Mrs. Major Go to Hell?** captures perfectly Mrs. Heath's own vibrant spirit ... the book is an absolute classic of tenderness and humanity.

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resists the convenient occupational epithets. "Art critic" is the most obvious, but only partly right, as are "watercolorist," "social critic," "economist," "iconographer," and "meteorologist." Multiple hyphenation would be awkward, so one is tempted to call him a Renaissance man, but he would have had one's head for that: he scorned the "aristocratic follies" and "enervated sensuality" of that movement, which he considered the decadent correlate to the Reformation. The good old days for Ruskin were the Middle Ages.

In a chapter on "The Nature of the Gothic" in the magisterial architectural catalogue called *The Stones of Venice*, Ruskin enumerated the "moral elements" of what he considered, chiefly by virtue of its "savageness" and "changefulness," the only truly Christian and Western system of architecture. The Parthenon and St. Peter's both expressed to him an inhumane perfectionism and a uniformity that stifled the peculiar abilities of the individuals who labored on them; whereas St. Mark's represented the miraculous harmonization of the variable and diverse talents of its uncounted and unnamed sculptors.

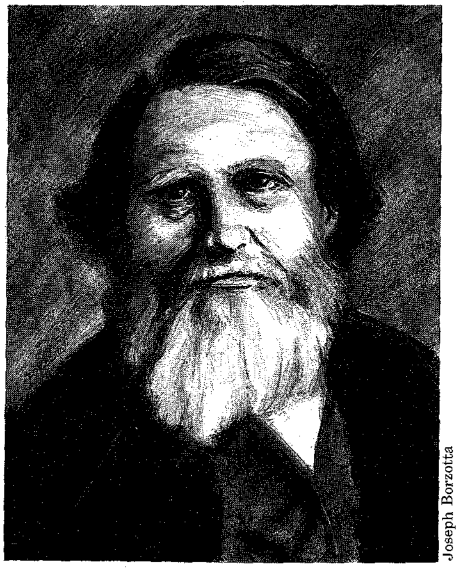
By this standard, working conditions in factories were intolerable, and Ruskin used this to explain burgeoning social discontent.

> It is not that men are ill fed, but that they have no pleasure in the work by which they make their bread, and therefore look to wealth as the only means of pleasure. It is not that men are pained by the scorn of the upper classes, but that they cannot endure their own; for they feel that the labor to which they are condemned is verily a degrading one, and makes them less than men.

Mechanization, then, was to be shunned where it displaced human ingenuity and craftsmanship. This sophisticated Luddism fit with Ruskin's aversion to railroads and other technological innovations. (He made an exception for photography, handy for making architectural records.)

Ruskin's political complexion was as complicated as his job description. "I am myself a Communist of the old school—reddest also of the red," he claimed, but later added, "I am . . . a violent Tory of the old school—Walter Scott's school, that is to say, and Homer's." He favored equal wages but not universal suffrage. He disagreed with both Marx and Adam Smith, for whom value meant exchange value; for Ruskin, there was an intrinsic use value to a product, and an absolute standard by which to judge its quality. The utopian temptation was endemic to intellectuals in the last century, even more so than in our own, but Ruskin stands out for putting his money where his manifesto was. To promote his ideas, he gave away a considerable inheritance. And unlike Engels, who also turned his capital to an anti-capitalist cause, Ruskin turned a profit. A publishing business run on the principles he prescribed made him a second fortune.

Certain schemes of his (such as public schools and price controls) became standard procedure in the modern welfare state, and he served, if not as architect, then as inspiration of revolution. Of *Unto This Last*, Ruskin's social gospel, Gandhi attested: "That book marked the turning point in my life."


Joseph Borzotta

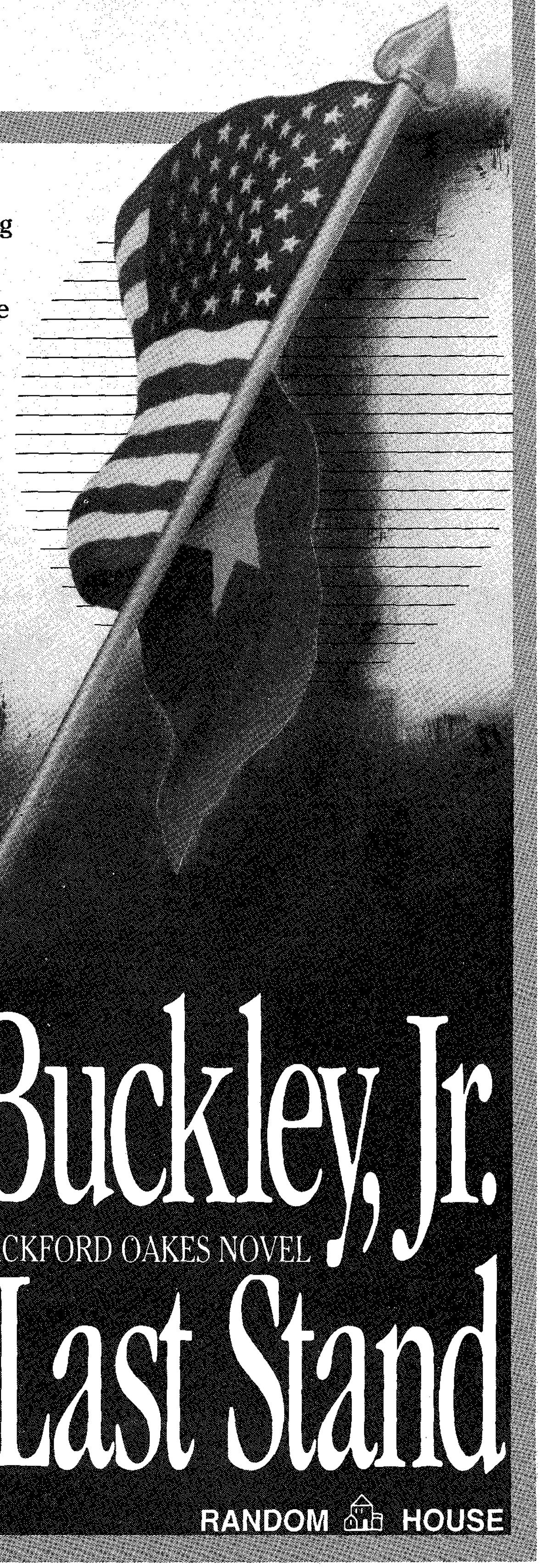
All this was the work of a latecomer to the field of political economy. "To equal Ruskin's achievement," suggests Kemp, "Marx, after finishing *Capital* in 1867, would have had to become a music historian." It was as an art critic, the champion of J. M. W. Turner in *Modern Painters*, that Ruskin had first attained fame.

In *Ruskin on Turner*, we can see his ecstatic exegeses side-by-side with brilliant reproductions of the canvases that provoked them. Turner was the greatest landscape painter of all time, in Ruskin's view, because of his "truth to nature." But Ruskin eventually perceived the tragic historical circumstance of this distinction: as man fell away from nature through industrial progress, he looked most keenly and longingly at what he was leaving behind. Ruskin himself looked at nature, and saw it fading. Late in the century, he accurately observed the skies darkening from factory pollution, but his observations were dismissed as the ravings of a crank.

The Desire of My Eyes was originally written in German, which explains a few peculiarities in addition to some characteristically Teutonic incantatory abstraction ("The realization of reality ranks before self-realization"). There is background information, intended for a Continental reader though also helpful to an American, on the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and other Victorian phenomena. References to Goethe, Novalis, Thomas Mann, and the less familiar Friedrich Theodor Vischer and Karl Kraus, establish an enlightening, if eccentric, European context. One chapter is entitled "The Luther of the Arts," a suggestive comparison of two consummate pessimists; but the comparison is not elaborated.

There is at least one more German pessimist who bears comparing with the Englishman. Ruskin and Nietzsche went insane the same year and spent the next 11 years in the care of female relatives, both dying in 1900. Kemp ignores this coincidence, but Ruskin, who believed in the symbolism of apparent accident, would have found it compelling. The two held antithetical views of art, nature-centered and man-centered respectively, but according to Kemp, their careers converged in one respect besides the chronological.

Ruskin, writes Kemp, eventually concluded that "he had to take fragmentation and its causes as his theme *and* to adopt fragmentation as his form. That is, he had to be unharmonious himself. . . . *Fors Clavigera* [his longest work of social criticism] fascinates us now because of its modern intention to be as brutal . . . and as chaotic . . . as the brutality and chaos of the nineteenth century. It is modern, too, in its uncompromising view that now destruction and the destroyers warrant more attention than what has been, or still remains to be, destroyed. But what seems necessary and inevitable to us today was not yet so in the nineteenth century. And perhaps it only became so because of men like Ruskin and Nietzsche." ☐



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ELIZABETH McCAUGHEY

Cobblestone Leadership: Majority Rule, Minority Power, by James MacGregor Burns with L. Marvin Overby (University of Oklahoma Press, 137 pp., $17.95)

THE LAST election demonstrated that no matter how dissatisfied the voters are with the politics of avoidance and fiscal irresponsibility, their representatives have little fear of losing office. Of the 405 members of the House of Representatives who faced re-election in 1990, 82 were unchallenged by a major-party candidate; another three hundred faced a major-party opponent who raised less than $25,000 in campaign funds. Frustrated voters—both Republicans and Democrats—are rebelling against unaccountable lawmakers by considering constitutional amendments to limit the number of consecutive terms a state legislator or a congressman can serve.

At the same time, the eminent historian James MacGregor Burns asks us to pause and reconsider whether government by amateurs is what we want. In *Cobblestone Leadership: Majority Rule, Minority Power*, he argues that politics ought to be played by the pros: "Take the player selection and play-calling responsibilities away from the fans and return them to the coaches."

Despite Burns's reputation as an activist Democrat, this is not partisan fare. Many of his suggestions, such as abandoning direct primaries and restoring the political party's grip on the nominating process, make him an iconoclast among his liberal Democratic colleagues. Burns has stepped back and assumed the role of an inventor, a scientist of politics, observing and reasoning about what constitutional design will produce the best and most durable government. Emulating the original authors of the Constitution, whom he praises for their readiness to innovate and their devotion to the public good, Burns promises to think in "rarefied terms." The key to more competitive elections and more qualified candidates, Burns argues, is to revitalize the two-party system. Since the beginning of the century, but especially in the aftermath of the Democratic National Convention of 1968, "reformers" in nearly every state have replaced party conventions and caucuses with what they insisted was a more democratic way of choosing candidates, direct primaries. Anyone seeking to be nominated must now build a large personal organization, with pollsters, researchers, and policy advisors, and wage a costly media campaign before the primary. Many talented aspirants are discouraged from even entering the contest, and the winners are often elected for their television appeal rather than their wisdom or governing skills.

Give party organizations more influence in the selection of candidates, Burns urges, and each party will lose no time offering a qualified, well-financed challenger to take on every entrenched incumbent from the opposite party. To render the major parties truly answerable for the state of the nation, Burns urges voters to support a straight party ticket, putting either the Democrats or the Republicans in command of the White House and the Congress. Without one major party in control of both branches, government has swung erratically between stalemate and crisis management, Burns observes, and voters have not known whom to blame. Let one party govern, and the electorate will judge the results. Burns's arguments for "effective partisan rule" challenge prevailing wisdom. Two-thirds of Americans prefer seeing one party in command at the White House and another party in control of Congress, perhaps because they believe that dividing power will curb its abuse by either party.

Burns also favors strengthening party ties between Congress and the President by adopting a four-year term for members of the House of Representatives, a change that would eliminate the mid-term elections, when partisan support for the President in Congress is often diminished.

Has Burns presented an idealized version of party government? For many Americans the word "party" evokes images of Richard Daley, Frank Curley, the spoils system, deals made behind closed doors, and self-seeking politicians lined up at the patronage trough. But in the early nineteenth century, when ambitious politicians began organizing national parties for the first time, some Americans saw that this partisan competition would have the advantage of offering voters legitimate visions of what the nation might achieve.

In the 1850s, when the regular competition between these parties—the Whigs and Democrats—had deteriorated, Charles Sumner defended the efforts to organize a Republican Party intended to challenge Whig hegemony. He reminded the nation why it was necessary to have two great parties. "Through parties, principles are maintained above men. And through parties, men in power are held to a just responsibility." During most of the nineteenth century, a time of vigorous two-party competition, voters were able to hold their congressmen accountable and turned incumbents out of office 40 to 50 per cent of the time, although the electoral contests did not always present the choices between legitimate, but opposing, principles that Sumner envisioned. The party system was an instrument of good and of evil, of national purpose and of self-interest, employed by principled statesmen and by opportunists. Abraham Lincoln was a stalwart party man, who wielded the tools of party government, including patronage, masterfully for principled ends.

TO PROMOTE energetic, accountable partisan leadership, Burns proposes far-ranging constitutional changes—for example, an amendment allowing Congress to impeach and remove a President who has committed no serious crime but simply has lost the confidence of too many legislators to govern effectively. But this is not one of Burns's wiser innovations—our President is far more than a prime minister, and impeaching him on purely political grounds would turn an unpopular President into an heroic defender of the office.

Despite their flaws, Burns's proposals make important, exciting reading. The inventive spirit of his inquiry tempts us to try our own hand at adjusting our political system—though with prudence and reverence—and re-

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Miss McCaughey is constitutional scholar at the Center for the Study of the Presidency in New York City.

minds us of the challenge that inspired Alexander Hamilton as he began writing *The Federalist Papers* in 1787. On the opening page Hamilton observed—and it remains true today—that the success or failure of American government would be regarded as an answer to "the important question" whether human societies "are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice." □

Victory in Defeat

JAMES H. ANDREWS

GIVEN THAT Blackford Oakes has been our tour guide to the middle years of the cold war—from Sputnik and the U-2 incident, through the building of the Berlin Wall, to the Cuban missile crisis and its aftermath (as Bill Buckley sees the Kennedy assassination)—it was almost inevitable that Blacky would pop up in Vietnam. And so he does, in the ninth novel in Mr. Buckley's engaging series.

How does Buckley do it? How does the Squire of Stamford, time and again, so thoroughly project himself—and us—into a fully realized espionage world light years away from the comfortable corners of Manhattan, Connecticut, and Switzerland where he lives and works?

It's the summer of 1964. The 15,000 or so American soldiers in Vietnam are still officially designated as advisors, but Lyndon Johnson and his holdover New Frontiersmen are on the verge of deciding to make Vietnam the showcase for containment.

***Tucker's Last Stand*, by William F. Buckley Jr. (Random House, 266 pp., $19.95)**

Blackford is in Nam—Laos, actually—to scout a portion of the Ho Chi Minh Trail and to devise a plan for interdicting the movement of troops and weapons down from North Vietnam; from a captured NVA plan, the United States knows the traffic is about to build from a trickle to a torrent. Blackford's military escort in the bush is Special Forces Major Tucker Montana, a Medal of Honor winner for singlehandedly taking out a Huk platoon in the Philippines.

Back in Saigon, Blackford's report to his superiors is gloomy. The dense jungle canopy over the Trail prevents surveillance from the air. But an ingenious solution is presented from an unexpected source: Major Montana. The war hero's brawn and guts are conjoined with the mind of a brilliant, intuitive physicist and engineer. When Tucker was a 19-year-old Army corporal with little formal schooling, his talents had landed him on the team of scientists that built the atomic bomb at Los Alamos, and he flew as the babysitter for the bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

Mr. Andrews is assistant editorial-page editor for the Christian Science Monitor.

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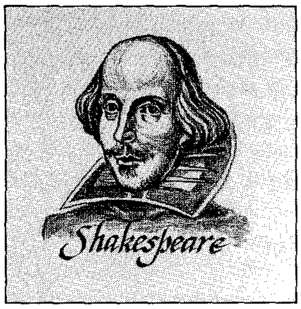
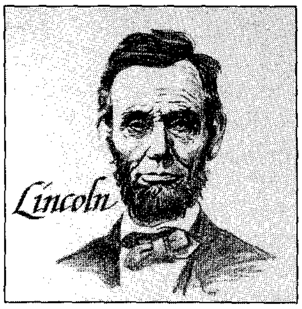
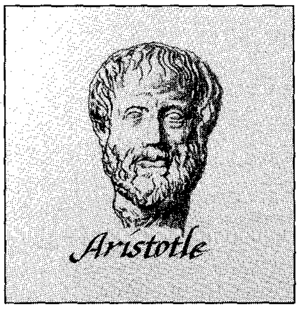


Romantic love — royal government — theory and practice of tragic, comic, and lyric poetry.
Teacher: Wm. Shakespeare



Natural law and natural rights — American constitution — theory of republican government.
Teacher: A. Lincoln

Kinematics — strength of materials — natural philosophy.
Teacher: G. Galilei



Ethics — politics — physics — poetics — metaphysics.
Teacher: Aristotle

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The fission blast that leveled Hiroshima also permanently seared Montana's conscience. Suffering a nervous breakdown, he sought redemption in a Benedictine cloister but learned he wasn't cut out for the monastic life; so he rejoined the Army in time for the Korean War, but, as a moral fugitive from his past, he took on the persona of a hard-drinking, hard-loving, almost reckless fighter. He buried, as much as he could, his role in the event of August 6, 1945, and the genius that led him there.

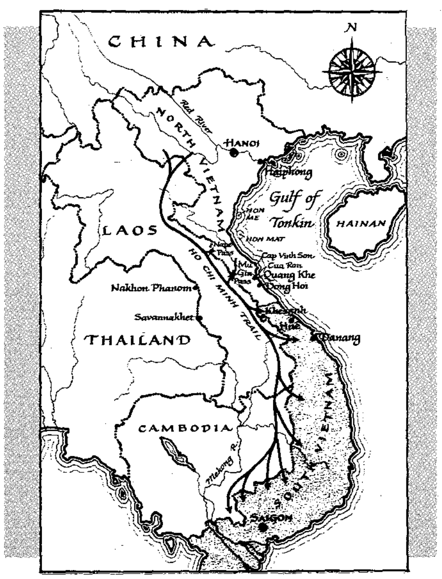
The technical challenge of the Trail unfreezes his creative juices, though. He proposes a system of unattended sensors dropped onto two critical mountain passes. The transmissions will be monitored by aircraft and analyzed by computer; within three and a half minutes the data will be forwarded to bomber pilots for sorties against the passes. Washington approves the scheme, code-named (as it was in real life) Operation Igloo White, and Tucker is put in charge of developing, testing, and manufacturing the devices.

With the Trail out of his hands, Blackford is shifted to the Tonkin Gulf. There he honchos an operation (also drawn from history) that uses Vietnamese fishing vessels both to interdict weapons traffic from the North and to probe a line of Soviet-built radar stations being installed along the coast of North Vietnam to guard against air attacks.

In this capacity, Oakes plays a central role in a scheme that, while *not* drawn from history (so far as we know), is a marvelous, albeit deeply unsettling, Buckley concoction. Three months before the U.S. election, Lyndon Johnson is starting to feel heat from candidate Barry Goldwater for his "do-nothing" policy on Vietnam. Johnson wants to eliminate Indochina as a campaign issue, and he hankers to get into the fray in any event. What's needed, he realizes, is congressional authorization of the use of American force; but this requires a provocation.

Fortuitously, a small encounter between several renegade North Vietnamese patrol boats and ships of the U.S. Seventh Fleet occurs on August 2. Alone, it is not sufficient to bring the full armed might of the United States into the war against North Vietnam. But a *second* such violation of freedom of the seas, one manifestly more purposeful and lethal in intent than the first incident . . . well, now, *that* would be a *casus belli.*

Not waiting for Hanoi to oblige, Blackford Oakes, on secret orders of his government, takes off in a high-speed boat armed with only a spotlight, a tape recorder, and some sonar-deceiving goodies cooked up by Tucker, on the moonless night of August 4, to convince the American fleet that it has been assaulted by a flotilla of North Vietnamese torpedo boats. (The events of that night as described by Buckley, if not their cause, are consistent with the historical evidence, the weight of which leads to the conclusion that there was no attack on American warships that night.) The Tonkin Gulf resolution sails through both houses of Congress on August 7 with just two dissenting votes. With the U.S. effectively at war with North Vietnam, Goldwater agrees not to campaign on the issue. The saddest chapter in American history since the Civil War has begun.



Anita Karl/Jim Kemp

But that wasn't evident in the summer and fall of 1964. After all, Operation Igloo White held the key to shutting down the Ho Chi Minh Trail, starving the Vietcong insurgency in the south, and bringing peace to divided Vietnam for the first time since the Japanese occupation. Tucker was making rapid progress in his engineering facility in Thailand, as he reported to Blackford and their joint handler, Rufus, in their weekly meetings in Saigon.

At this juncture, however, Tucker's two great vulnerabilities—the horror of nuclear holocaust that took him to that long-ago monastery, and the rampaging libido that took him out of it—conspire to make him the weak link in United States strategy. He falls into a honey trap with a beautiful Vietnamese spy, who learns that, while lust alone will not cause Major Montana to temporize on his loyalties, mind games just might. The story gathers speed toward its wrenching conclusion.

Once again, Bill Buckley has produced an intricately plotted, neatly handled story that's hard to put down. It has many of the special Buckley touches we've come to expect: The deft interweaving of fictitious and carefully researched historical events. The painstaking mastery of technical subjects, central to the plot, that are miraculously rendered accessible to the non-techie by the novelist's alchemy. The empathetic portrayals of historical people—in this case Lyndon Johnson, Abe Fortas, John McCone, Bobby Kennedy, and, most affectingly, Barry Goldwater.

While the famous Buckley wit and playfulness are in evidence, the author (an accomplished amateur harpsichordist, among other things) performs in a somber register suitable to a realm of secretiveness, treachery, and summary justice. Indeed, as in other books in the series (*The Story of Henri Tod*; *Mongoose, R.I.P.*), Buckley goes beyond the anguish of soul that all moral men would feel in a world without absolutes, where ends justify means. He sounds a strikingly doleful, even despairing theme—chords hauntingly at odds with the West's indefatigable, happy warrior of "On the Right" and *Firing line.*

It's not just that, almost without fail, tragic events shape the Blackford Oakes novels; such events shaped (and probably still shape) the twilight struggle in which Blacky's real-life counterparts have been engaged. That struggle has ground up people like Henri Tod, Catalina in *See You Later Alligator*, or Antonio Morales and Rolando Cubela in *Mongoose, R.I.P.*

No, it's more than that. The lingering impression is that the author is heavy with a sense of futility. Blacky's side, he seems to say, may be the side of the angels, but it's decadent, exhausted, doomed to defeat. At both the operational and spiritual levels, the adversary, though evil, is tougher, shrewder, more determined.

Of course, that's all fair comment, even from a happy warrior, and of no episode more than Vietnam (which, as early as 1964, Blackford Oakes sees as a lost cause). What doesn't seem fair, however, is Blackford's phantom raid on the Seventh Fleet, leading to the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. Lord knows, there was folly enough in Vietnam, folly that cost the United States fifty thousand lives, the alienation of a generation, and two decades of foreign-policy tentativeness. But it is monstrous to imply that the decisive event precipitating American involvement in Vietnam was cynically contrived by Lyndon Johnson's brain trust and carried out by the CIA.

By setting his plots twenty years behind the times, Buckley always ran the risk that they would seem anachronistic. He was safe, though, as long as the cold war was still going on. Now not only is the cold war over, but the West has won. That fact needn't put Blackford Oakes out of a job, given the time lag (although it is hard to imagine Blacky as a fifty-year-old spook in Afghanistan). The end of the cold war does, however, increasingly raise questions about the gloom that has settled on our hero in his recent forays. Maybe it's time, as Blackford himself may recognize, for him to get out of the trade, to give it over to fresher, more hopeful men.

If we have, indeed, seen the last of Blackford Oakes, we'll miss him. He has been a fine companion. And who knows? Maybe he'll be back. After all, he *still* hasn't married the longsuffering Sally Partridge. ☐

FILM

The Mob and the Family

JOHN SIMON

WE WERE alerted early on that the battle of the films this year would be between two Mafia megamovies: Martin Scorsese's *GoodFellas*, which came out in September, and *The Godfather Part III*, which, with Francis Ford Coppola's customary last-minute fiddling, barely made it for Christmas. *GoodFellas* is based on *Wiseguy*, Nicholas Pileggi's nonfiction account of Henry Hill, a medium-sized Mafioso who ended up squealing on the mob; *Godfather Part III* is a continuation of the Corleone saga, a fiction devised by Mario Puzo. Both movies are superproductions even in length (*GF* is 146 minutes, *G III* is 161), but Coppola's is a tedious effort to flog an old hippopotamus into action, whereas Scorsese's is the most original and assured piece of American mainline cinema since—it's been so long, I've forgotten what.

GoodFellas, with a script by Pileggi and Scorsese, is a testimonial to the banality of evil as compelling as Eichmann's story and far closer to home. Henry Hill, a boy of half-Irish, half-Sicilian descent, is aware that the taxi stand across the street in his New York blue-collar neighborhood is a front for the mob, and he yearns to become a gangster, the way other kids want to be firemen or auto racers. He starts by, unbeknown to his parents, dropping out of school and performing menial tasks for the mob. When a mailman delivers a letter from school about his absences, and his father administers a thrashing, the mobsters give the postman a mighty scare, and no similar mail gets delivered again.

Already as a kid, Henry gets to meet the biggies, notably Paulie Cicero, who runs the show, and his various lieutenants, especially the still very young Jimmy Conway, a big-time thief and heavy tipper, who bestows a benediction of greenbacks all around like a rain from heaven. Also a coeval, Tommy, with a face like a beaked tomahawk, the future hitman extraordinary. Soon Jimmy, Tommy, and Henry are a trio of hijackers and high rollers, pulling off ever grander heists; goodfellas, as they like to call themselves, or wiseguys.

By this time, both script and direction have worked their wonders. When young Henry runs out of a Mafia pizza parlor to bandage a badly wounded Mafioso, he is rebuked, "You wasted eight f---ing aprons on the guy!" Upon Henry's first arrest, he is greeted by Paulie, "You popped your cherry!" Later, Jimmy congratulates

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Mr. Simon, NR*'s film critic, is also theater critic for* New York *magazine.*

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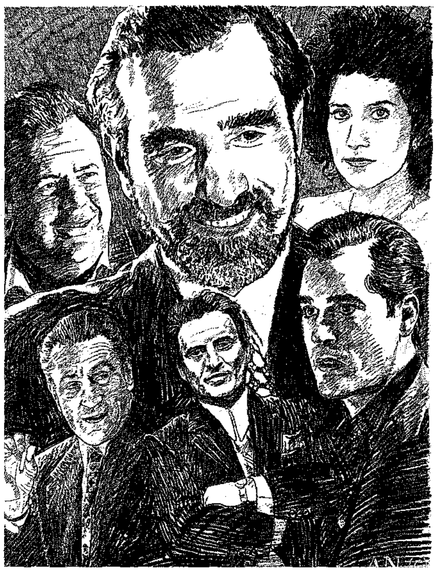
Henry on having learned "the two greatest things in life: never rat on your friends, and keep your mouth shut." Henry (he is heard most of the time in voiceover) exults: "If we wanted something, we just took it. If anyone complained, he got hit so bad, he never complained again."

The language is racy but simple, in the way of Satan's credo in *Paradise Lost*, "Evil, be thou my good." Camaraderie in the atmospherically lit restaurants where the gang hangs out consists of telling about murderous exploits in ways that raise gales of laughter, which, in turn, give rise to violent kidding that can lead to actual violence. But it is all casual. If Tommy is dissatisfied with a young waiter who is a bit slow, he shoots him in the foot; if, next time, the boy gives him any lip, he shoots him dead. This elicits remonstrances from Jimmy, but it doesn't stop the card game in which everyone is immersed.

While the crisp narration alternates with sometimes broadly comical, sometimes *sotto voce* conspiratorial dialogue, Scorsese conjures with his camera. He introduces stop-motion at some not obviously crucial moments while the voiceover commentary drives a point home. Or he will repeat a short scene, either immediately or much later on, with additional information. Or he'll tilt the camera during a conjugal argument, then slowly straighten it while keeping the aroused spouses in the lower left-hand corner of the frame, which shows a corner on the floor of the room where their sexual reconciliation takes place, the placement within the frame replicating the position in the room.

Whenever possible, he shoots from a character's point of view. When Henry drives up in front of the house of someone he'll beat to a pulp, the person is first seen in Henry's rear-view mirror, as befits the stealthiness of the occasion. When someone who hasn't paid his dues to the mob is threatened by having his head bent back over the railing of the lions' grotto at the zoo, the lions on their rocky ledge are shot upside down, increasing the immediacy of the man's terror. When Henry is being introduced to the goodfellas drinking and eating at one of their joints, the camera weaves through this long, sprawling, orange-dusky space in one uninterrupted shot as various mobsters lift their heads long enough for a hello before the camera meanders on. Again, when Henry takes Karen, his bride to be, to the Copacabana, he beats the line outside by entering from the rear, through the kitchen, tipping people as he goes along. It is a single, very long take, often turning corners and brushing past steam tables, with the camera traipsing behind Karen and Henry like faithful Fido until, reaching the nightclub floor, it observes the waiters, in a burst of groveling solicitude, setting up a choice table for the newcomers.

The best thing Scorsese does is to use a freewheeling, unconstrained tempo. Most of the scenes are short and clipped, their beginnings and endings cropped, like fat sliced off the edges of a ham. There is a sense of leanness and propulsiveness about the film, yet, when appropriate, the camera relaxes, even dawdles, in an inspired rubato, as in the aforementioned love scene on the floor. By casually using the extreme variety of procedures available to a director, Scorsese makes us accept them equally casually, until they seem as normal as the Cyrillic alphabet in a Russian text. And by cutting to the bone, Scorsese and Pileggi are able to crowd many more incidents into the film, and yet, by keeping the scenes short, never let our interest slacken. Here, too, Michael Ballhaus's cinematography helps enormously, with its almost clinical approach to every camera setup, as clean as Thelma Schoonmaker's editing.


Alan Nahigian

Down to the last expendable mobster or mobster's girlfriend, the casting is impeccable. ("Saturday night was for the wives, but Friday night at the Copa was for the girlfriends.") The faces, the hairdos, the clothes, the intonations (Woman: "If I even looked at someone else, he'd kill me." Other woman: "Great!") all exude the most palpable, cozy vulgarity. And the major roles are filled to the brim, without a drop spilling over. As Harry, Ray Liotta is a black-haired, blue-eyed, sensual-mouthed fellow, his pale face, however, marbled with sinister rugosities. His performance is perforce less riveting here than it was as the heavy in *Something Wild*, but it neatly conveys the mixture of stupidity and cunning that jerks this man ahead. Robert De Niro's Jimmy, the corners of his eyes as soothingly rumpled as a comfortable jacket, tautens his face suddenly into chiseled ruthlessness. As Paulie, Paul Sorvino lowers and smiles, smiles and lowers like a two-faced walrus.

As Tommy, Joe Pesci is a bantam rooster crossed with a water moccasin, with a sleek, jeering voice; even his way of walking and speaking is a form of holstered trigger-happiness, his laugh the shortest distance between mockery and murder. When he jokes with his mother (played by Scorsese's mom), the joke is both funny and chilling: "Why don't you get yourself a nice girl?" "I get a nice girl almost every night." "I mean to settle down with." "I settle down. Then in the morning I'm free." But the most extraordinary acting comes from Lorraine Bracco (in private life, Mrs. Harvey Keitel) as Karen. She has the same devious sexiness as Debra Winger, exemplary timing, and, though Italian, can do New York Jewish as well as Shelley Winters. As Henry's put-upon but spunky, tenacious wife, her ferocity is always either droll or heartbreaking.

What makes *GoodFellas* unique is its exaggerated, comic-horrific mode that can with equal ease turn hilarious or deadly. When murder erupts, it does so quickly, almost subliminally, yet bloodily—whether by gun, knife, or well-placed icepick into the back of the neck. These wiseguys live well even in jail—where nobody goes, we learn, unless he wants to: "Do you know why Jeanie's husband went to the can? Because he wanted to get away from her." There is much cooking, mostly by men, and the camera captures it as if gifted with a sense of smell and taste. Evil uses the spatula as naturally as the gun.

You remember those once-popular recordings of "Opera without words"? In its blatancy and banality, *GoodFellas* is opera without music, and all the more funny-sinister for it. Even the word for killing used by these wiseguys—whacking—is characteristically prosaic and comic. But by the time one of the main characters gets whacked, we're laughing from the other side of our mouths, if at all.

BY CONTRAST ***The Godfather Part III*** is a conventional affair, and a weary one. There is nothing here that wasn't done as well or better in Parts I and II (especially II), and through 161 minutes of *déjà vu*, the viewer has ample time to wonder whether anything more than failure at everything else made Coppola return to the scene of his crimes. For crimes they were, even if highly successful ones: glorifications of the allegedly heroic Mafioso. The cult of the gangster—Cagney, Bogart—can be partly excused as a product of the Depression and its discontents; still, it is the same cult as gave rise to Hitler.

Of course, the sentimental appeal of *Godfather I & II* was the feeling for the elsewhere vanishing family. But, philosophically, the end justifies the means only for that great Mafioso *avant la lettre*, Machiavelli; and, in any case, what kind of an end is the rule of the gangster?

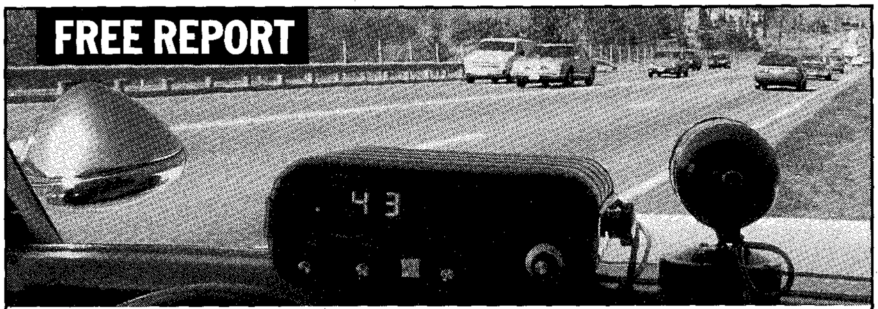
In a sense, Coppola himself is a benign Mafioso, having forced on us the acting of his only modestly talented sister, Talia Shire, and of his untalented nephew, Nicolas Cage, as well as the composing and conducting of his ungifted father, Carmine Coppola. In *Godfather III*, he foists on us, (Mary Carleone, as Michael's daughter) his own daughter, Sofia. Though Mary is not on screen that much, she is crucial to the action. To have a gross-looking, totally non-acting, personalityless person impersonating the movie's love interest is a costly impertinence. And to think that, because of daughter Sofia's Valley-girl accent, someone else had to dub her voice! But at least the dubbing is perfect: the voice is as inept as the body.

The story, by Puzo and Coppola, is alert to recent history: the Vatican's involvement in international finance and the sudden death of Pope John Paul I one month after his election, with concomitant rumors of foul play. Capitalizing on this, Puzo and Coppola achieve a modicum of doubtful originality by making the Catholic Church come out greyer than in any other American movie; conversely, however, Michael Corleone becomes better: he murders more sparingly, and gets involved only in legitimate businesses, such as a multinational consortium that is, at any rate superficially, respectable.

What Coppola continues to do well is large public occasions, i.e., set pieces, such as the banquet at which Michael gets the Papal Order of St. Sebastian, the religious parade culminating in murder, or the operatic debut of Michael's son as Turiddu in Palermo, where, during the performance of *Cavalleria Rusticana*, one assassination attempt tragically misfires and another comically succeeds. But is it possible for Michael Corleone to know so little about opera—and Italian—as to think that the word is *cavallaria*? Well, perhaps; didn't Mario Puzo misspell Salvatore Giuliano throughout the novel he wrote about him? But to turn *Cav* into a full-length opera sans *Pag* for the sake of the movie is just too cavalier.

The private scenes, however, are mostly forgettable, especially when someone like Eli Wallach (preposterous as an old Mafia don) or Diane Keaton (preposterous as anything) usurps the screen. As Michael, Al Pacino suffers copiously and picturesquely; oh, how painful trying to go straight is! The Christ parallel becomes increasingly insistent until, in the end, a fulsomely shot wooden crucifix drives it home (the Christ parallel, not the woodenness). *Cavalleria* becomes Corleone's Calvary. There are some good performances, notably by Joe Mantegna as a gangster who gets bitten in the ear and by Andy Garcia as the ear-biter and future Godfather, though it's a melancholy thought that no Italo-American could be found for the part, and Hispanics seem to be taking over the Brotherhood.

Perhaps the best scene in the movie is the one where two thugs come to rub out Vince (Garcia), who is in bed with a woman reporter (nicely played by Bridget Fonda). But surely the worst is the tacked-on epilogue in which Michael—old and lonely somewhere in Sicily—dies miserably. This scene should have been whacked. □



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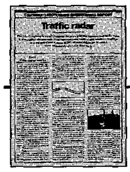

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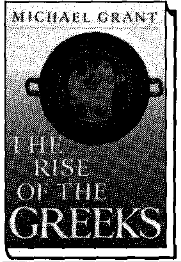

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DELECTATIONS

Post-Christmas Verities

NIKA HAZELTON

DID YOU show the spirit of Christmas this year? Did you do your best to celebrate the greatest story ever told by showing compassion for those less well-off than yourself? This is not nearly as difficult as most people believe; and if you feel that you fell short, you needn't wait till next Christmas to make amends. Do not forget that you will feel so much better when you do something for somebody else. That is the lesson the gift of the Magi, as recounted in the Gospels, has for us.

I honor and respect all people bound by a specific faith. It seems to me that all faiths proclaim that the prize goes to those who put themselves out for somebody else. We may not be able to achieve major things, and will have to be content with a small deed, such as baking with our own hands. As I have said before, nothing beats something made especially for you to enjoy.

But enough of this preaching. I will now go and bake for my family and friends.

BISCUIT TORTONI

A version as good as any you have eaten in an Italian restaurant.

2 large eggs, separated
½ cup confectioner's sugar
2 tablespoons sherry or rum
½ teaspoon vanilla extract
1 cup heavy cream, whipped
½ cup plus 3 tablespoons crushed almond macaroons
¼ cup maraschino cherries, drained and chopped not too fine

Beat the egg yolks and sugar together until fluffy. Stir in the sherry or rum and the vanilla. Beat the egg whites until they hold stiff peaks. Fold the egg-yolk mixture into the whites. Fold in the whipped cream. Stir in the ½ cup of macaroons and all the cherries. Put the mixture into paper dessert dishes, each holding 4 ounces. Sprinkle the top of each with some of the remaining macaroons. Freeze until firm. Serve in paper dishes.

MEANWHILE, the problem of what to give to people whom one has always given a present is most obvious at Christmas, but also crops up at other times of the year. In any case, the answer I strongly recommend is a disposable present: the case or bottle of good wine, the tin of pâté, the box of chocolates—in short, whatever can bring a joyful change in the daily diet.

With this theory of giving, you choose the appropriate present not by shopping around, but by noticing during the year what sorts of things the recipient is likely to enjoy. In one case, for example, I took myself to the nearest liquor store and chose two bottles of a good Bordeaux (two, because I knew from observation that one bottle would not be enough to go around that family of inveterate wine drinkers).

Disposable gifts have the clear virtue of not standing around, demanding space and gathering dust. I have seldom felt grateful for the ashtrays, the decanters, the bottle openers, and the whole galaxy of wine paraphernalia that my friends have bestowed on me in the course of the years (for it is well known that I don't mind people smoking and that I like a good bottle of wine). Especially onerous are those decorative objects that have to be kept in a visible spot to assure the donor (who, shopping around with care, determined that only this lamp or that decanter would do) that his gift is appreciated.

Books, by the way—which so many people choose as a "safe" gift—are as troublesome as any of these. One hates throwing a book away, and yet how do you know that you'll want to reread it once it is read? Dust-catchers, as I know only too well, are whatever someone else decides you should read.

As it is, I will give disposable presents every time, and I hope I have persuaded you to do the same. ☐

Mrs. Hazelton, an NR *contributing editor, is the author of, most recently,* Ups and Downs: Memoirs of Another Time.

TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney

1 E	2 H	3 D	4 A	5 L	■	6 O	7 T	■	8 G	9 C	10 X	11 N	■	12 B	13 A	14 D	15 S	■	16 W	17 O	18 K
19 E	20 P	■	21 A	22 G	23 B	24 V	■	25 U	26 J	27 X	28 I	29 K	■	30 F	31 D	32 O	■	33 A	34 E	35 H	36 M
37 R	38 P	■	39 X	40 W	■	41 S	42 U	43 A	44 N	45 G	46 D	47 Q	48 K	49 V	■	50 I	51 A	52 T	53 O	54 H	55 F
56 E	57 C	58 U	■	59 P	60 L	61 D	62 F	■	63 A	64 B	65 H	66 T	■	67 J	68 A	69 S	70 M	■	71 N	72 G	73 E
74 X	75 W	76 V	■	77 L	78 P	79 A	80 B	81 R	82 G	■	83 I	84 T	■	85 W	86 F	87 K	88 N	89 D	90 B	91 E	■
92 K	93 U	94 S	95 N	■	96 R	97 L	98 M	■	99 L	100V	101R	102O	103A	104K	105D	106X	107G	108J	109C	110U	■
111B	112D	113G	■	114S	115L	116T	117Q	118M	119F	120C	121A	122U	■	123C	124T	125B	■	126F	127A	128S	129E
130K	131C	132W	133H	■	134A	135O	136I	137K	138E	139U	■	140B	141E	142D	143X	144J	145P	■	146X	147H	148W
■	149U	150N	151W	152S	153L	154G	155E	156R	157F	158I	■	159P	160X	■	161D	162E	163L	164V	165N	■	166D
167B	168H	169K	170F	171C	172R	173G	174J	175L	176A	177N	178O	■	179H	180E	181V	182Q	■	183T	184K	185V	186W
187Q	188C	189A	190M	■	191D	192F	193S	194A	195J	196O	197U	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■

DEFINITIONS

A. Famed London shopping area (2 words) — 134 176 51 121 13 21 79 103 194 43 127 189 4 33 68 63

B. Galileo's subject — 111 80 12 125 167 90 64 140 23

C. Quite rare — 9 120 57 171 188 131 123 109

D. Marines (slang) — 14 105 61 161 31 89 191 112 3 166 142 46

E. Major world religion — 138 162 34 180 19 91 56 141 129 73 1 155

F. Onetime protective embankment during war — 170 192 86 119 30 55 126 157 62

G. City of canals — 154 107 82 173 45 72 113 22 8

H. 1/36 of a yardsnake? — 35 168 133 2 179 54 147 65

I. Cunning — 158 28 83 136 50

J. Maddening disease — 144 174 26 195 108 67

K. Called the fouls — 130 169 92 87 184 137 48 29 18 104

L. Christ's birthplace — 99 163 175 97 153 77 60 5 115

M. The Keating Five's are in question — 98 118 70 1 190 36

N. Southern capital — 165 150 71 11 95 177 44 88

O. A violet-colored dye — 196 17 102 135 178 6 53 32

P. NOW target — 145 20 78 159 38 59

Q. Rustbelt state — 187 182 47 117

R. Numbskull — 172 156 81 101 37 96

S. Algonquian language — 41 114 69 15 193 152 128 94

T. Promote — 183 84 116 52 124 7 66

U. Wednesday, seen from Thursday — 197 122 58 110 42 93 149 25 139

V. Most prying — 49 185 76 164 100 24 181

W. Man of relativity — 85 132 40 151 16 148 75 186

X. Set of circumstances — 74 10 143 160 146 106 39 27

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 68 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

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Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

[Joseph] Sobran:
On Aborticide

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ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

The Constitutional Question

NEW YORK, JANUARY 2

The pressure is on Mr. Bush. A few weeks ago I remarked the difficulties Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan faced when asked why the President needs congressional sanction to proceed against Iraq if he already has the sanction of the United Nations, to which our laws are theoretically subordinate.

Senator Moynihan comments: "If I seemed a little evasive it was simply because in those heady years 1944 and 1945, the Congress did indeed contemplate turning over to the Security Council quite extraordinary powers. It was contemplated that, by previous agreement, the President would, through the Security Council, be able to send American armed forces into battle and 'shall not be deemed to require the authorization of the Congress' to do so. That bill passed. The Bricker Amendment [denying the force of law to any treaty impinging on the rights of American citizens] didn't. If the bill came before us today, I most certainly would vote against it."

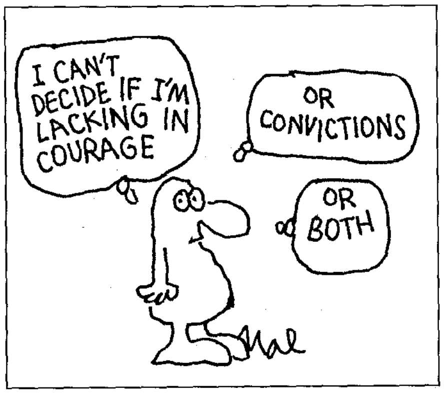
So—one travels to the United Nations Participation Act of 1945 to read: 1) "The President is authorized to negotiate a special agreement or agreements with the Security Council which shall be subject to the approval of the Congress by appropriate Act or joint resolution, providing for the numbers and types of armed forces . . . to be made available to the Security Council on its call for the purpose of maintaining international peace and security in accordance with Article 43 of said Charter." But also, 2) "The President shall not be deemed to require the authorization of the Congress to make available to the Security Council . . . the armed forces, facilities, or assistance provided for therein."

The nice question arises: Are the four hundred thousand soldiers we have in Saudi Arabia a part of the peacekeeping reserves of the United Nations?

Mr. C. Dickerman Williams, the distinguished legal scholar, writes to the *New York Times* to remind its readers how Harry Truman acted in 1950 when we moved in to defend South Korea. He quotes from Dean Acheson's book *Present at the Creation.* Acheson was himself of course a lawyer, and he wrote, "there has never, I believe, been any serious doubt—in the sense of non-politically inspired doubt—of the presidential constitutional authority to do what he did," i.e., use the armed forces despite the absence of a declaration of war.

Here is something else we learn from Dean Acheson's book, namely that President Truman and his inner council meditated the wisdom of asking Congress for an affirmative resolution in re Korea but then decided against it. Acheson's reasoning was that such a resolution was not required; that the majority of Congress was clearly disposed to back our Korean venture, but the minority could demoralize the men in the field by "debating and delaying a resolution so as to dilute much of its public effect." President Truman not only went along, but wrote to Acheson a few weeks later commending him on his advice.

Now Truman, according to Acheson, was "moved by [a] passionately held conviction. His great office was to him a sacred and temporary trust, which he was determined to pass on unimpaired by the slightest loss of power or prestige. This attitude would incline him strongly against any attempt to divert criticism from him by action that might establish a precedent in derogation of presidential power to send our forces into battle. The memorandum that we prepared listed 87 instances in the past century in which his predecessors had done this."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The whole thing becomes rather messy, as we can see. In the long view of it, conservatives have tended to be suspicious of the arrogation of power by the Executive. Mr. Bush could at least satisfy the spirit of the constitutional reservation of the war-declaring power to Congress by announcing that he intended to use military force, but would weigh any resolution by Congress condemning the use of force, should such a resolution be passed before D-Day. In that way he could acknowledge the constitutional limitation on the powers of the Commander-in-Chief, while placing the burden of accumulating a majority on the opponents of his Gulf policies, and affirming, by his action, his own belief in the inherent powers of the Commander-in-Chief. ☐

A Future for Gorbachev

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 12

The most mordant comment on what is going on in the Soviet Union was made by Yelena Bonner, the spirited widow of Andrei Sakharov. It was on the *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour* that she opined that the time had come for Gorbachev to resign. What then would he do? the question was asked. Well, said Mrs. Bonner, he has plenty of money—after all, he won the Nobel Prize, which is big bucks. He could perhaps go to another country and join the faculty of a college and "teach a course in Sovietology." Gorbachev would have singular advantages here, in that Sovietology these days is pretty much whatever he decides it is; for so long as he has that power.

The following day (again, on the invaluable *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*) we heard from the poet Yevtushenko. He was on the program primarily for the purpose of plugging his latest book of poems, from which he read with evident awe & admiration. Those who remember the long trail of Yevtushenko will recall that his "independence" has always been of the craftiest kind—he was careful not to cross any of the truly forbidden lines, so that after swinging with Khrushchev during the thaw in the mid Fifties, he continued to dance with him cheek-to-cheek when Khrushchev became just another mini-Stalin; and as much was true when Brezhnev moved his massive frame onto the scene.

Well, Yevtushenko a) professed his admiration for Mrs. Bonner, in true Yevtushenko guard-all-your-positions style, but b) disagreed with her on the matter of whether Gorbachev should quit (or be ousted). The reason is that Yevtushenko believes in gratitude, and therefore thinks the Soviet Union ought to be grateful to Gorbachev for introducing *glasnost* and *perestroika*. There is something a little static about that reasoning. We are properly grateful to the assassin who kills the tyrant, but not necessarily to the point of desiring him as chief-of-state, especially when he is asking for tyrannical powers.

And then of course there was the shock of Shevardnadze. To resign from the Soviet Cabinet on the grounds that the leader is taking the country in the direction of tyranny is a Soviet development so . . . balsamic in nature one rather wishes he had put it off until Christmas Day, so sweet and electrifying is the very thought of quitting high Soviet office on those grounds. Within the Soviet Union, the resignation is viewed as an assertion of Georgian pride: the foreign minister was saying, in effect, that he was going to identify himself with his native republic. And saying this at the exact moment when Gorbachev was insisting on enhanced authority sufficient to quell the centrifugal political tendencies within the Soviet Union. And now Gorbachev has to face the popular Russian leader. Mr. Yeltsin announces that he will reduce by 90 per cent the contributions the republic of Russia makes to the Soviet treasury, and that would mean a reduction in federal expenditures of about 50 per cent. If Mr. Yeltsin gets away with it, one should import him to Washington to represent U.S. taxpayers in their dealings with our own Federal Government.

Nothing is plainer than that Gorbachev will either fade away, or else acquire the kind of power associated with the evil empire he sought to terminate. It is a pity to have the same man who popularized the term *perestroika*, which means structural redevelopment, run into the structural rigidity of the society he seeks to reform. Just as you cannot square a circle, you cannot run a country indefinitely half free and half slave, as a distinguished American President informed us 130 years ago. You cannot even make the trains run on time: in the Soviet Union trains are idle within sight of bountiful harvests of wheat, even as, one hundred miles away, there is a shortage of bread. To rebuild the railroads becomes a politically creative challenge. It means: a) making the ruble convertible into hard currency; b) letting the price of wheat find its market level; c) getting out of the way of entrepreneurs who are willing to devote themselves to the railroad crisis in return for d) private gain—i.e., private property. Rich societies can afford to subsidize ailing railroads. Indigent societies need to get out of the way of primal needs, the need to eat being first among these. Mrs. Bonner makes a useful practical suggestion for the future of Mr. Gorbachev. □

Pledge, Anyone?

NEW YORK, DECEMBER 31

Today, New Year's Eve, some of us make resolutions designed to improve our character, our health, or our waistline, and even though some pledges will improve all three at the same time, we are fated, as sinners, to—sin again. The mood brings us to reflect on the nature of President Bush's tergiversation, which ranks as the most prominent political-moral event of 1990. Two reminiscences:

The first presidential campaign to which I paid any notice was the race between Wendell Willkie and President Roosevelt. Candidate Willkie made several sharp criticisms of the conduct of foreign policy by FDR, but the following summer, the defeated candidate was adopting the FDR line. He testified before a congressional committee and was asked by a legislator to account for the conflicting position he had taken the preceding summer, to which Mr. Willkie replied, "Oh, that was just campaign oratory." This 15-year-old was shocked, which meant that I was still very very young.

Four years later, in the army, I was asked by a subordinate for advice. The sergeant had agreed to give his wife a divorce, and the lawyer had asked him to sign a statement in which he conceded that he had been cruel to her, neglectful, causing her a great deal of mental damage. Should he sign such a form? Under no circumstances, counseled 2nd Lt. Buckley, the conscience of the 8th Army. That night, dining with my uncle, a retired lawyer, I told him how I had saved my sergeant from a terrible scar that would have defaced his character for all time. "You were wrong," my uncle said, kindly. "What you say you did in a divorce statement is absolutely meaningless, and all the world knows this." Once again I was astonished, but I was learning. After all, we were fighting in a war which our President had pledged to avoid—pledged, to use FDR's exact language, "agayn and agayn and agayn" never to involve "our boys" in. That we are all glad that the United States did participate in that military action doesn't affect the moral question.

When George Bush in 1988 was seeking a dramatic means of reinforcing his seriousness on the question of higher taxes, he came up with a truly arresting formulation. "Read my lips." Time and again he reiterated that pledge.

The question is whether Mr. Bush's renunciation of his pledge is understandable in the sense that a dissolved marriage can be understandable. There are 5.7 million American men whose lips framed the promise to love and to protect, for better and for worse, in sickness and in health, until death did them part, their bride; and who were then divorced. Although many of those marriages dissolved for indefensible reasons, many dissolved because the alternative was an unhealthy prolongation of mutually imposed misery. Did that happen in this case? Did the economic situation develop in such a way as to make it plainly irresponsible for the President to continue to stand by his promise not to sanction any rise in taxes?

When a petitioner appeals to the Vatican to annul a marriage, the procedure is to appoint one priest who serves as "the defender of the marriage bond." His job is to act as attorney for the pledge—to give all the reasons why the petition ought not to be granted. There are economists and public-policy spokesmen (one thinks of the likes of Felix Rohatyn and Pete Peterson) who have stood up and argued with great eloquence the absolute necessity of severing the bond made by George Bush with the voters, arguing that economic devastation is the alternative. But there were also eloquent defenders of the marriage bond, such as Professor Milton Friedman, the entire professional staff of the *Wall Street Journal*, and of course the dozens of Republican congressmen who were stranded by Mr. Bush's severance of that bond.

On one point, those who felt betrayed are not easily coped with, and that is their complaint about the failure of Mr. Bush to communicate exactly why he felt that he had to jettison his solemnly made promise. All he came up with was the obstinately inscrutable reference to the need now to "read" his "lips." If he were speaking from Delphi, one might be tempted to explore that statement for its hidden meaning. . . . But George Bush isn't given to speaking in parables, and one comes reluctantly to the conclusion that when he asked us to read his lips, he was simply engaging in campaign oratory. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

OFF THE RECORD

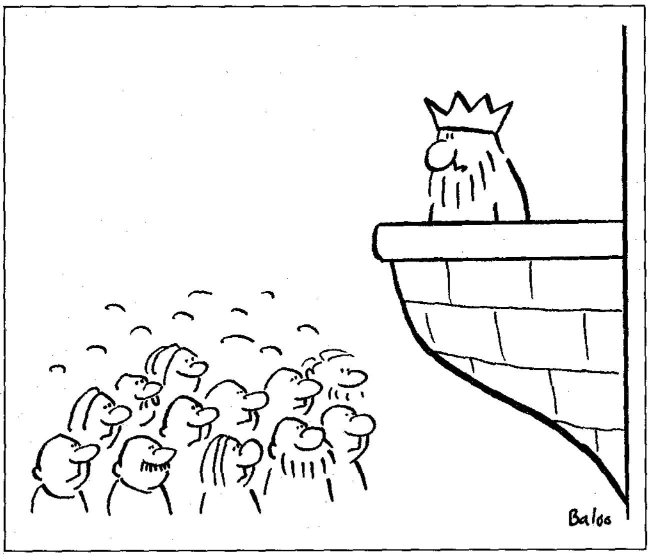
Affirmative Action. The recent departure of Lauro Cavazos as secretary of education was a long time coming, say White House insiders. The original story put out was that Mr. Cavazos resigned, and thus he was exceptionally irritated when the truth leaked out that he was in fact sacked. Desperate for a twist, Mr. Cavazos even considered saying that he was resigning in protest over the decision by Assistant Secretary Michael Williams (which has since been reversed) to bar colleges receiving federal money from awarding scholarships based solely on race. That would have had the secretary resigning over a decision by a subordinate. How's that for equal opportunity?

Rumbles on the Right. In the wake of the disastrous budget summit, Cato has learned of a number of "Dump Bush" movements around the Republic, now in their formative stages. Frustrated with the Bush Administration, a group of young activists brought together by Ben and Betsy Hart has begun to search for a conservative challenger to the President in the 1992 Republican primaries.

In early December, former Governor Pete du Pont spoke to great applause at one of these gatherings with his call to get the GOP back on its Reagan-era track. The meeting came days before the governor announced the formation of the Committee for Republican Leadership, whose main purpose is to fight to preserve the 1988 Republican platform *in toto*, and which has the endorsement both of economic conservatives such as Bear, Stearns's Larry Kudlow and of social conservatives such as Pat Robertson. Although Mr. du Pont says he's not running for President, he does say that anyone who *did* run for President would need an army, and that the Committee would make a fine army. Sounds to Cato like the first shot in the primary campaign.

Raiding Nader. Pity the California Left. Not only did its Big Green environmental initiative flop at the polls, but one of its most vigorous lobbying arms now stands to lose $369,662.41 in funding. The affected organization is the Ralph Nader–inspired California Public Interest Research Group, and the figure is the estimated amount it collected for the 1989–90 school year from four campuses of the University of California. It had collected this via a mechanism whereby students who failed to check a tiny box on their billing forms during the registration period were automatically charged as much as $5 per semester for CalPIRG.

The good news is that the university system's Board of Regents, responding to a drive led by Consumer Alert, recently voted to eliminate the negative check-off funding. According to Barbara Keating-Edh, president of Consumer Alert, the organization hopes to expand the drive to all college campuses around the country where PIRGs are similarly funded. Now how about doing the same to Congress?



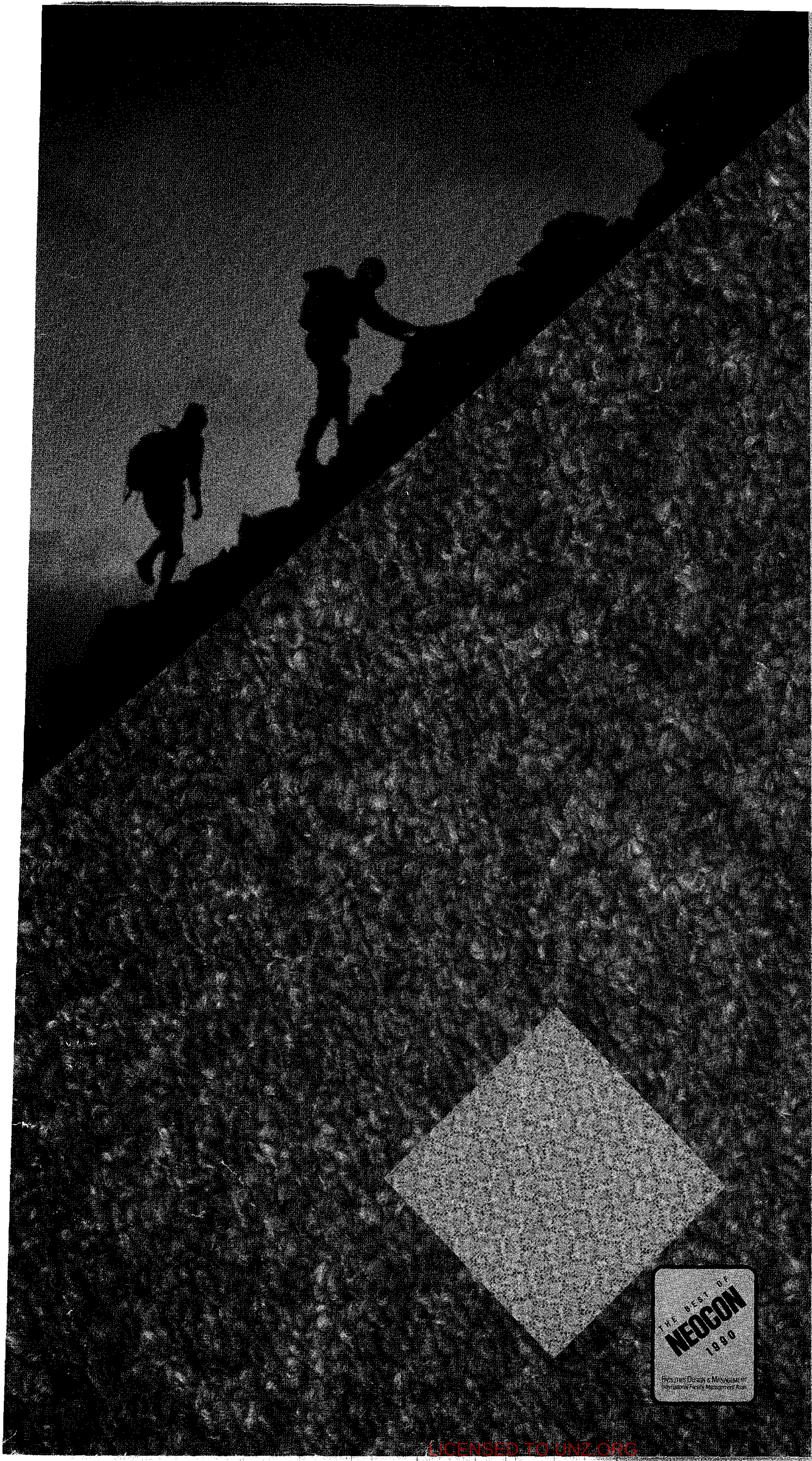
"You've already got government of *the people and* for *the people—two out of three isn't so bad!"*

College Republicans. It wasn't a very merry Christmas for the College Republicans. It turns out that GOP contributors aren't all that pleased with a kinder, gentler party, and in the resulting crunch the Republican National Committee slashed the budget of the largely Reaganite youth group, reducing it by "only" 25 per cent after some protest. Under Reagan, the College Republicans soared from 250 chapters and twenty thousand members in 1981 to a thousand chapters and a hundred thousand members today. But their pro-life and other conservative activities (e.g., supporting a boycott of Gulf Oil for doing business in Angola) have not helped make room for them inside the Big Tent. Cato hears that the final grinchly act was not to invite the College Republicans on a Barbara Bush–guided Christmas tour of the White House that all the rest of the RNC went on.

Peter's Pence. Recently ABC's Peter Jennings anchored a live special on abortion (*The New Civil War*) that claimed to bring all sides of the debate together. Indeed, initially ABC invited the Catholic Bishops' spokesman on abortion, Helen Alvare, to represent the Church's position. But on the day the show was aired Mrs. Alvare suddenly found herself disinvited.

In her stead appeared the Notre Dame theologian and part-time TV evangelist Father Richard McBrien, who stated on the air that "the only way out of [the abortion dilemma] is the way that Kate Michelman and Governor Mario Cuomo and others have pointed to." Miss Michelman is president of the National Abortion Rights Action League; Governor Cuomo is the leading Catholic pro-choicer. Word is that apart from getting a Catholic to undercut Catholic teaching, ABC chose Father McBrien because it wanted to show the Church speaking through a priest and not an articulate laywoman. Does Peter Jennings have a problem with intelligent women?

—CATO



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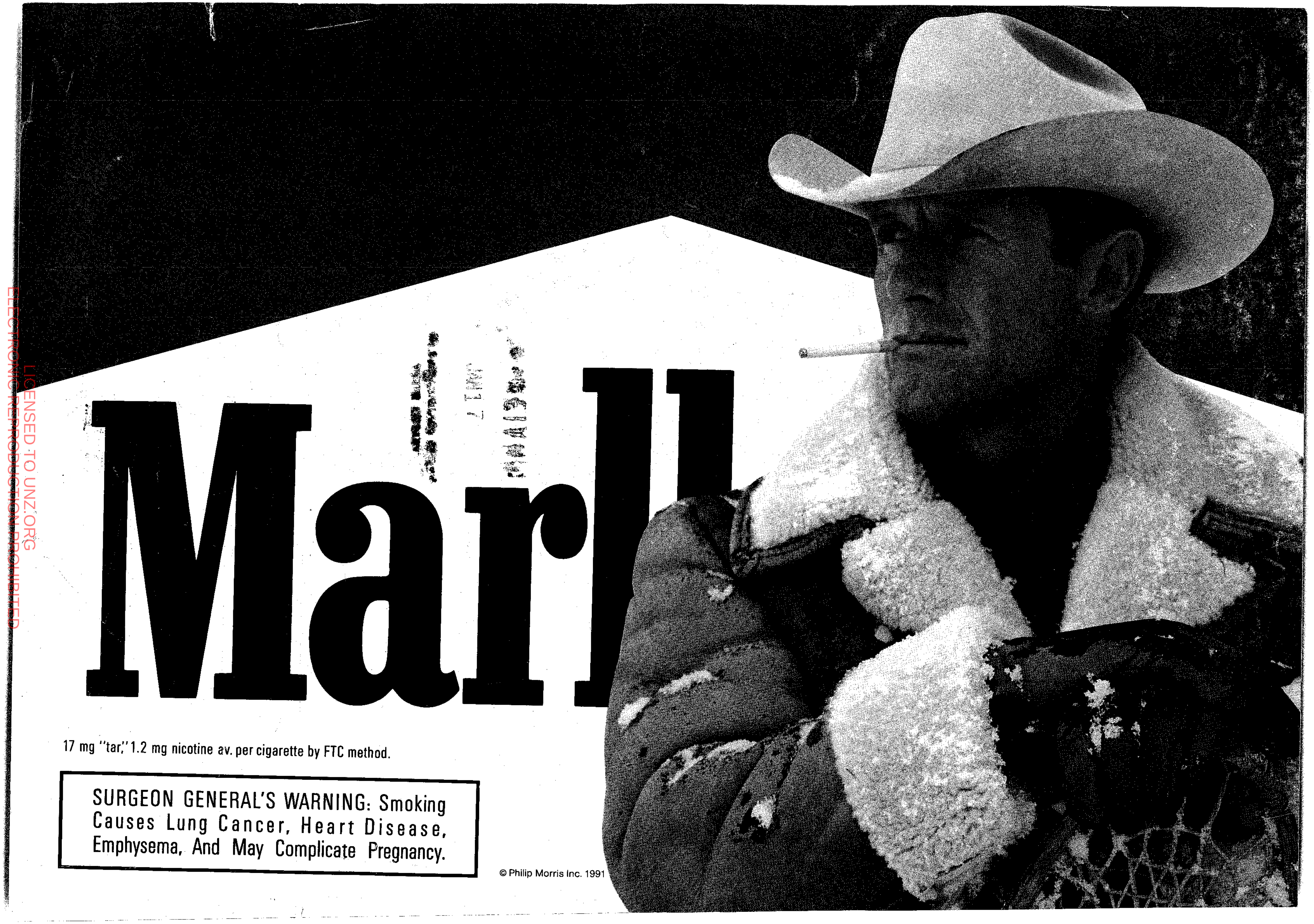

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